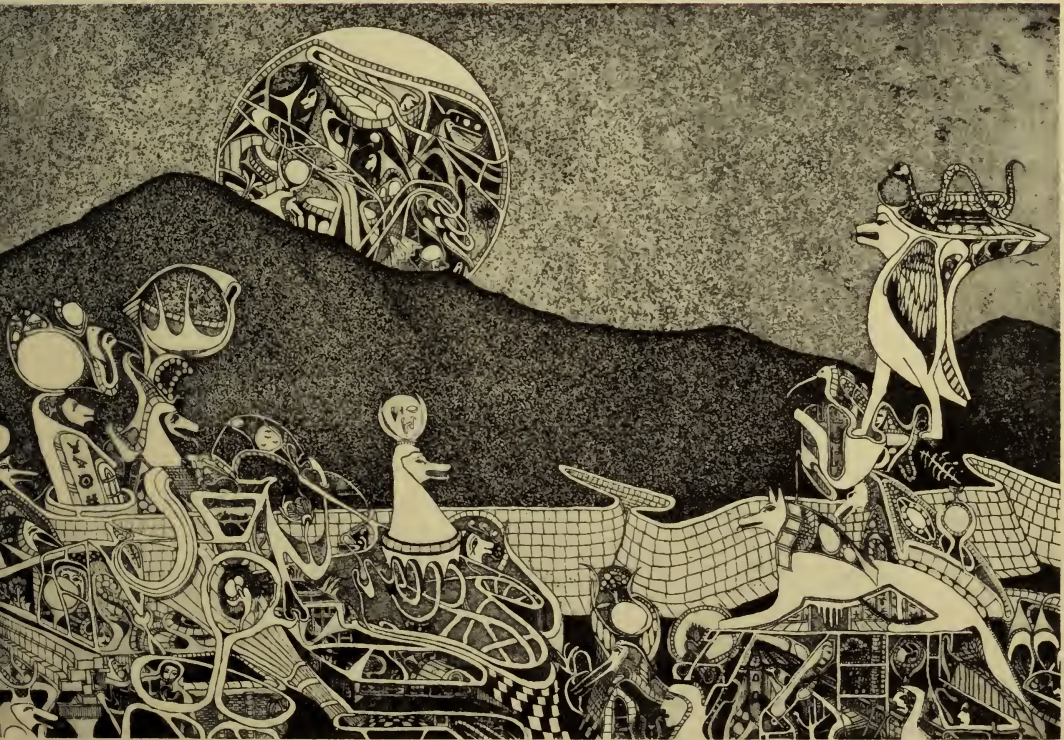


The Andover Review

A JOURNAL FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION



Fall 1976

Nationality

THESE ISSUES have a way of defining themselves. What started out as an inquiry into schools as a reflection of national culture and the reaction of secondary school students to the phenomenon of nationality turned out to be the international issue that we had discussed long ago. Some interesting ideas emerged. We are indebted to Susan Chira for the useful distinction which she makes between patriotism and nationalism. Incidentally, Susan is one of three student writers represented in this issue. We thus reach another goal that we set for ourselves in the beginning. I come away from this issue with the idea that the melting pot no longer melts, if it ever did, that students are better students, better citizens if they have a clear sense of their ethnic culture. A student, moreover, has a better understanding and appreciation of his national culture if he has been exposed to another national culture; Susan Chira understands her Americanism through her exposure to British schools; Marco Figus sees Roman education more clearly from the vantage point of an American school; an Armenian in the United States becomes a better American (whatever that is) by attending an Armenian school in this country. Further, I gain the impression that schools should be concerned to develop in their students the capacity for "critical thinking," especially as that thinking is applied to nationalism. Finally, the articles suggest that the concept of foreign or foreigner should be expunged from the language of the schools, that there is a universality in secondary education which the particularity of national education serves to emphasize. Others will come away from the issue with different impressions; if so, THE REVIEW will have achieved its basic purpose.

For spring of 1977 we plan to tackle the place of religion and morality in secondary education.

The Editor

THE REVIEW invites articles, poetry and graphics from all quarters and will select material with concern for secondary education. If mailed, graphic work should be insured by the sender. It will be returned in due course in the same manner.

A JOURNAL FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION

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Make Them Love America—

If You Can

THEODORE R. SIZER

“**I**n later times, and since the achievement of American Independence, the universal and ever-repeated argument in favor of Free Schools has been, that the general intelligence which they are capable of diffusing, and which can be imparted by no other human instrumentality, is indispensable to the continuance of a republican government. This argument, it is obvious, assumes, as a postulatam, the superiority of a republican over all other forms of government; and, as a people, we religiously believe in the soundness, both of the assumption and of a argument founded upon it.” Horace Mann said it baldly in 1846, but he’d still be applauded by most bicentennial gatherings today.¹ Our problem is that most recent, carefully analyzed evidence suggests that there is strikingly little correlation between the formal teaching of a student and his eventual views of patriotism and citizenship. The school, it appears, is too small or ineffective a train to carry the freight of Americanism which Mann and his modern imitators so fervently desire. The effort to sell a love of America and a commitment to democracy through the schools is not working well at all.

The need to ‘create’ Americans and a sense of nationhood has varied over history, for obvious and understandable reasons. The Revolutionary generation was nation building and desperately

¹Horace Mann, *Tenth Annual Report* (to the Massachusetts Board of Education), 1846.

needed a sense of one people across the polyglot colonial population from Maine to Georgia. The United States had to mean something both rational and emotional; the country needed an instant tradition to which all could quickly adhere. A belief in republicanism and a willingness to carry out a citizen's responsibilities were also needed, or the great experiment would splinter. Given these pressures, it is no surprise to find most of our articulate eighteenth century spokesmen urging the creation of schools and even whole educational systems as vehicles to spread the American way. Their rhetoric was at once optimistic and frightened. They believed wholeheartedly in the ability of a people deliberately to educate itself in patriotism; they believed powerfully in the efficacy of formal schooling. At the same time, they were afraid of losing their dream of a republic dependent on the concern, wisdom and votes of the people, of slipping back into the barbarism of European-style authoritarianism.

Mann's generation was fueled by these fears of its forebears. Starting in the 1820's, publicists questioned the resilience of American politics. By the 1840's, strong nativist, exclusionary sentiments were found in some communities. Again, the schools were called upon to stem backsliding. The ideological roots of the compulsory, unitary system of American public schools were sunk in the two decades before the Civil War.

"Americanization" as an explicit special goal dates from the decades of great foreign immigration, the 1890's up to 1920. The task of turning foreigners and their children quickly and in an orderly fashion into American patriots was given to the public schools and to offshoot adult evening schools. A whole literature of how to teach the Promised Land sprang up, and a small horde of serious academic theses emerged on the subject of how to reshape a newcomer into an American. Once again, society had given the task to the schools, and the schools went about it in direct and energetic zeal.

Interestingly, the academic theses in more recent years have a different perspective. The question from the 1930's on was most often the way young people could learn to accommodate themselves

to American society. It seems that, to the academic eye at least, the culture by 1930 was set, unchallenged, not in jeopardy and not in growth. What was needed was the “adjustment” of young Americans — not just newcomers — to the American way. The difference between the optimistic fearfulness of a Jefferson and the assured instrumentality of a William Heard Kilpatrick or James Conant is perhaps subtle, but important. Our time adapts children to the culture’s norms. Our forebears were on a crusade to create, to spread those norms across our country.

Whatever the purpose or bias of a particular time, the fact remains that American schools have long been seen as a means — usually the principal means — of creating American patriots, or, as the scholars would put it, as agents of American political socialization. Within this general expectation, specific objectives vary, often clash, even today. For example, there is a prominent chauvinist interest group which favors a My-country-right-or-wrong thread, the emotional and instinctive aspect of patriotism so essential during times of war. There are others who support an instrumental, purposeful thread, the teaching of the means and responsibilities of democratic participation. There is the more general, civic learning thread, the values of understanding, tolerance, participation, generosity. And there is, particularly in recent times, the know-thy-roots thread, the gathering of an understanding of how America developed and grew, this justified as an essential mooring for action as a citizen, the knowing first of one’s self. These threads criss-cross in debate and muddy the waters from which the confused student is supposed to drink. But whatever the bias, the fact remains that most Americans do believe that schools can and should teach political behavior and patriotism. The historical record is strikingly devoid of any serious argument on the other side.

how civics are learned

Whatever the emphasis given in a particular school at a particular time — for example, civic education, or bald nationalism, or even globalism — a prior question remains: how do youth learn about

their political surround? What are the means of political socialization and how well do they work?

Given the importance that Americans have given to the educational end of American citizenship, it is appalling to discover how little we really know about the process of political education. Equally depressing is the fact that we take little notice or account of the little we *do* know. Most recent work suggests that traditional Civics-Social Studies-History course packages, to which we are well accustomed, fail in important respects as isolated vehicles for political education. Surely we should pay attention to *that* finding. The students deserve as much of us.

We do know that a person's political attitudes are shaped by a host of influences. "The civic culture is transmitted by a complex process that includes training in many social institutions — family, peer group, school, work place, as well as the political system itself. . . ." ² The school's part in this process is limited, obviously: it is but one of an orchestra of pressures and for many students a relatively insignificant one, it seems. Few research studies show any appreciable correlation between the curriculum and its teaching, on the one hand, and eventual, corollary civic behavior of the students on the other. ³ The school is never *in vacuo*, of course; but in this sensitive, complex area of political beliefs and commitments, its limitations seem especially stark. Foreign leaders, notably those in the so-called 'developing countries,' have understood this better than Americans and have effectively used approaches which, while still formal and intentional, lie outside the schools. A controlled press; a carefully managed labor movement; the proliferation of carefully drafted slogans; the use of specific, often staged events as vehicles for political learning; youth organizations: all these are familiar tools in other nations, particularly non-democracies. While some of these approaches might seem inappropriate, to say the least, in America, it remains ironic that this country, the cradle of adver-

²Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Boston, 1963, 1965), 367.

³Byron G. Massialas, "Citizenship and Socialization," in *The Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, 4th ed. (New York, 1969), 129.

tising, has been so inept at using in a coordinated fashion a variety of cultural tools to transmit political ideology.

Most of the relevant research shows that the general social context, or overall tone, of a culture at a given moment fundamentally shapes a young person's political values. Whether one grows up during World War II or the Vietnamese war seems to be a far more important fact in assuming civic attitudes than the school one happens to attend. It appears to be even more important, in the aggregate, than one's social or economic class or one's sex, though lower class youngsters appear to exhibit less optimism about whether they can affect the system than do their wealthier colleagues.⁴ One can assume that even specific events, if they have sufficient public force, can profoundly touch young peoples' views: Pearl Harbor, Sputnik, the Kennedy assassination, Watergate.

While class and sex seem to be moderately unimportant variables, race appears to be relatively significant. Some recent research shows Black youth to be especially responsive to civics teaching. One can also conclude from the historical record that the formal teaching of nativist Americanism had a telling effect on many recently-arrived immigrants in the first three decades of this century.⁵ Why might this be so? One speculates that these groups (in the aggregate: it should be stressed that it is not *all* Black youth or *all* immigrants, but rather a significant number within these sets of people) were relatively unfamiliar with majority American political values, for the most part eager to absorb these values, thus 'joining' this majority, and were encouraged to do so by their 'context,' their parents, their clergy, their teachers, their neighborhood. The 'majority' children had no reason to learn about civic culture, as they were already part of the mainstream. A humble analog is found among automobile drivers: if one wants to know specific rules of the road, ask a neophyte in the throes of preparing for a state driver's license test. Only he could spout them. No one else cares to know all of these regulations, as they have no spur to do so.

⁴Ibid, 135.

⁵Ibid, 125; and David Tyack, *The One Best System* (Cambridge, 1974), 229 ff.

They already sit behind the wheel, the arrived majority. In sum, formal learning seems to have a measurable effect among those students who are at the margins of the dominant American population but who wish to join the center.

Political culture, however specifically defined, has both emotional and intellectual aspects. The emotional has particular power with younger children; the Americanist rituals of the school — the pledge, the flags, the holidays, the mythologies — appear to have considerable effect in encouraging patriotism of an open, responsive sort.⁶ This youthful acceptance worries some critics, of course (as most effective teaching always, and properly, does). Edgar Friedenberg puts the issue nicely: “the school is the instrument through which society accelerates people into consensus before they become old enough to resist it as effectively as they could later.”⁷ Emotional appeals, for good or ill, have lasting effects on adolescents and adults, too. One need only to view again the news-reel shots of the mass gatherings the Nazis staged in their Nürnberg amphitheatre to sense their power.

One can speculate that individuals pass through stages of development in the civic as well as in other areas. The proportion of emotional to intellectual pedagogy should lessen as a child becomes an adolescent. The abstractions of “country” and “citizen” may make intellectual sense only to an older child. Yet both emotional and intellectual appeals must remain. “. . . There appears to be a need for a balanced effective orientation to politics; or rather, there must be a balance between instrumental and affective orientations to politics. Politics must not be so instrumental and pragmatic that participants lose all emotional involvement in it . . . what is needed is a balance . . . of pragmatism and passion.”⁸

⁶Fred I. Greenstein, *Children and Politics* (New Haven, 1965), 154. See also Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, *The Development of Political Attitudes in Children* (Chicago, 1967), 217 ff.

⁷Edgar Z. Friedenberg, *Coming of Age in America* (New York, 1963, 1965), 170.

⁸Almond and Verba, op. cit., 354.

implications for teaching

The lessons from research in political socialization are bleak ones for teachers. The analytic, formal teaching about America which dominates elementary and junior high schools and which culminates in most systems in a capstone high school U. S. History course seems, when taken alone, to have had no measurable effect on the civic attitudes and behaviors of the students. Indeed, many young people do not even know the elementary facts of the American past, as a recent survey by *The New York Times* asserted.⁹ And yet the recent research, rudimentary and incomplete though it may be, does give some ideas about how teachers might better proceed.

The first essential is to get objectives straight. Toward what is the school teaching: civic skills? civic attitudes? patriotism? global citizenship? critical thinking? historical method? some facts of U. S. history? morality? All of these ends intertwine in most Social Studies or History departments, usually sloppily. One's pedagogical strategies depend on which of these ends are accepted and further defined and how contradictions among them are resolved (a truly devoted patriot might be an execrable historical scholar; a person well trained in contemporary civic skills may have an appallingly cynical civic attitude).

Secondly, if any understanding and respect for civic culture is adopted as an end, thought should be put to the particular context which a teacher's or a school's students experience. Put otherwise, if 'context' is so important, teachers should seize it, use it. One almost surely loses if one insists upon teaching about Nicholas Biddle and the Bank the day after the President is shot, but the less obvious strategies are equally important. Such humble exercises as, in history classes, constantly using analogies with which the students have not only understanding but commitment, and 'forcing' students to articulate and then carefully analyze their own political attitudes make obvious sense.

The American 'context' is stable today, providing the "congenial community climate" necessary for a traditional kind of successful

⁹*The New York Times*, several issues, May-June 1976.

civic education.¹⁰ While many contemporary students have “a fear that the nation is drifting, without a clear sense of shared goals,” clearly their country as a country is of great concern to them. They are disposed to reform: “. . . change, yes, revolution, no.”¹¹ Gallup polls reinforce this impression. Americans *care*; the media appear to have overstated not only the rage of the sixties but also today’s abatement. In sum, the general context is supportive of Americanist teaching.

Two divergent elements deserve mention. For complicated, and still speculative, reasons, America may be entering a period where separate interest groups, primarily ethnic, will collect a greater share of the “passion” of many citizens than heretofore, this at the expense of feelings of national identity. Martin Kilson’s analysis of what he calls growing “neo-ethnicity” is telling, and, if borne out, is likely to affect the political attitudes of important sub-groups in the society, including Blacks.¹² The patterns seen in the research in the 1960’s may not, in these certain respects, be sustained into the 80’s. Those who teach ethnically homogeneous classes will need different approaches from those who work with heterogeneous groups — indeed, if one is to use ‘context’ seriously, very different approaches.

The second divergence, globalism, is a more theoretical one, certainly undetected among the citizens as a group. Nationalism is a peculiarly Western invention, and, as we all too well know, it has its dark and corrupt side. As the world’s economy, and thus its politics, becomes increasingly interdependent, perhaps Americans need to feel ‘passion’ as well as ‘pragmatism’ about that interdependence, to feel responsibilities devoid of particularly nationalist argument. If this be so, and if the schools are asked to teach more toward ‘globalism,’ teachers may be bucking the ‘context’ to a

¹⁰Massialas, *op. cit.*, 129.

¹¹Gerald G. Bachman and Elizabeth Van Duinen, *Youth Look at National Problems: a Special Report from the Youth in Transition Project* (Michigan, 1971), 23, 93.

¹²Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds., *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (New York, 1975), especially 1-26; and Martin Kilson’s chapter therein, “Blacks and Neo-Ethnicity in American Political Life,” 236 ff.

degree that guarantees failure. But events could change the context, in dramatically sudden ways. This possibility bears watching by teachers.

That “balance between passion and pragmatism” will be difficult for secondary school teachers to accept, as they generally are staunch advocates for exclusively critical thinking. Political emotion is anathema, indeed a subject for scorn. Actually to use it as a pedagogical device will seem to some as unworthy as it is repugnant. But appeals to the emotions for educational ends should not be dismissed in haste. One need only to see the importance of ritual for adolescents to understand the potential of ill or good effect. Josef Goebbels understood it well; so did Baden-Powell of the Boy Scouts and Kurt Hahn of Outward Bound. A less threatening word for teachers than emotion is engagement; most educators will agree that a child’s learning develops to a significant degree to the extent that he is committed to it, that he is engaged in it, as an implicit or explicit problem-solver. Unfortunately, many of the efforts in the last decades at some sorts of ‘engagement’ in civics have been spurious and cloying: mock conventions and elections, fake U. N. Assemblies and the rest. Students are quick to spot and to ridicule the non-authentic. Teachers must find, perhaps through some particular aspect of the current context, authentic participation or engagement and the ‘passion’ that might come from it.

A book could be written extending and clarifying these pedagogical hunches. Suffice it to say here that teaching *can* make an important difference in political socialization if due care is taken not only to accept but to embrace the facts of ‘context’ and of the need for emotional as well as intellectual civic education.

Children can learn to love America — or to love whatever. A complex of institutions influences that commitment. The school is part of that complex and needs carefully to shape its role in conjunction with, or deliberately in opposition to, those other institutions. When several institutions are in concert, the probability for significant learning is high.



PETER TYACK

THE PROFESSOR

I am thinking of teaching mainly
the nineteenth century. Why not?
It's better than living it, then or now
realities are grim, people
and greedy pigeons look the same.

My grandmother would enjoy
taking a bag of stale breadcrumbs
saved for this purpose, down to the park.
This is one's most cheerful duty
as one grows older, she would say.

Where is my park, I wonder? Or
my grandmother? Perhaps somewhere
disapprovingly noting my neglect,
preparing a lecture which I will hear
in my time, on the centuries,

and how pigeons, soft mauve, gray
and blue, will always need to be fed
by elderly people who sit on park
benches, tossing breadcrumbs and smiling,
for continuity, for history's sake.

PHYLLIS JANOWITZ

THE PROFESSOR

– A Reply

I'm thinking
of living in the nineteenth
century.
Why not?
It's a lot better than
teaching it!

No more scholarly essays
to read
or write.
No more research
at the library.

Just simple living.
Back to the country
a century back.

No more telephones
or t.v. sets
or radios
or $E = MC^2$ s.

I just have
to find a plane
to take me there.

And then the hell
with the twentieth
century.

PETER PAYACK

The Teaching of Patriotism

*The Marshall Fundamental School
Pasadena, California*

RICHARD VETTERLI

At John Marshall Fundamental School in Pasadena, California, each day begins with a flag-raising ceremony, complete with trumpeters. The pledge of allegiance ceremony is conducted in each classroom, followed by twenty minutes of character education. During this period, teachers lead students in discussions of good citizenship, self-respect, respect for others, honesty, fairness and integrity. Strict discipline is observed, and classroom activities stress the basics — reading, writing and computational mathematics.

The John Marshall Fundamental School (K-12) is a pace setter for the growing emphasis on “the return to the basics,” which has fostered a growing number of “alternative” schools called “fundamental schools.” These schools promise to do what many parents and educators claim the regular schools are not doing, or at least are not doing well — teaching youngsters to read, write, add and to behave.

The initial academic successes of the fundamental schools portend a bright future for the “return to the basics” movement. Yet, from the very beginning, the political success of the fundamental schools has been overwhelming. Most faculty and parents involved with fundamental schools like them and appreciate the alternatives. What is more important, students seem to like fundamental education. This has been the experience in Pasadena, and the education editor

for the *New York Times* found this to be the case in the fundamental schools he visited. Virtually everywhere fundamental alternatives have been offered, applications far exceed the capacities of the schools. Pasadena has opened three more fundamental schools in an attempt to meet the demand for this type of education. This seems to complement a 1975 Gallup Poll, which found that approximately 60% of all parents would send their children to fundamental-type schools, if given the opportunity. Specifically, 84% of public school parents favored instruction in moral behavior in the schools; 53% of elementary school parents and 54% of high school parents indicated the belief that their children were not challenged sufficiently in the public schools. When asked to grade the public school system, only 17% gave an "A" grade.

Among the practices of fundamental education that have gained the overwhelming support of parents whose children attend such schools is the emphasis on patriotism and good citizenship. At Pasadena's Marshall Fundamental School, students are taught the history, heritage and the governmental structure of the United States. Emphasis is placed on the teaching of the ideals and principles that evolved from British common law and Western heritage, how they influenced the philosophy of America's great documents and how they effected the establishment of the Republic with its limited powers.

The bicentennial year has provided many opportunities for Marshall teachers and students to develop projects and assignments dealing with the foundation and development of the United States. The District provided a *Bicentennial Unit* for each grade, K-12, with appropriate reading material, special film strips and slide presentations, and suggestions for programs and activities. Not only history and the historical documents were studied, but also the food types, music and the dress of specific historical periods. Guest speakers were also brought in to address various classes on points of the bicentennial history.

Individual and class projects were conducted in every grade. One senior high school class had a stimulating year attempting to trace and reconstruct the history and the social scene, through the char-

acteristics and contributions of American literature. Other high school students performed in several readers' theater presentations with emphasis on American authors, playwrights and the great patriotic speeches. Others entered, and several won, essay contests on the bicentennial theme conducted by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Essays and scrapbooks were presented between classes, and two school-wide assemblies were presented on the subject during the school year. The Music-Arts Class and the Drama Class at Marshall Fundamental School cooperated in three community programs, one of which was the All-City Choral Festival. The music featured was "Sing Out for America" and a medley of American traditional songs. A recording was made of the program. The English classes' weekly compositions concentrated on themes of Americanism, home, family and ideals. A term paper was assigned which led to research in careers in America and the importance of freedom of choice. Math teachers assigned projects in "The History of the U.S. Money."

One tenth-grade student, Tina Quarnstrom, constructed a near life-size figure of Benjamin Franklin out of wire and papier-mâché. The likeness was amazing, and a picture of Tina and her Franklin appeared in all the local newspapers. Accompanying the figure was an essay by Tina on Franklin's contributions. Subsequently, the Freedoms Foundation invited Tina to visit Valley Forge, where she was presented with a special award.

the response

Response from parents, service clubs and community organizations was very valuable during this period. Many parents were involved with their children in set design, costume-making, musical preparation. Parents and other interested citizens presented numerous gifts of historical or patriotic nature and donated supplies for students to complete projects — flags, dolls, frames. Other parents donated several hours working in classrooms as aides. There was an amazing amount of family involvement in the various projects.

Marshall's Principal, Dr. Mike Kellner, received scores of notes, letters, and telephone calls from parents and other members of the community in praise of the patriotic emphasis and character-building lessons. Dr. Kellner described parental response at Back-to-School Night to these integrated programs as "overwhelming."

Numerous service clubs invited Marshall students to attend special meetings to present their projects or papers. Community organizations such as the Kiwanis, Pilot Club, Altadena Women's Club, PTA, Pro America and Daughters of the American Revolution lent their support to the program and were instrumental in raising the \$650 needed to send Tina Quarnstrom to Valley Forge.

Throughout the year, the teachers at Marshall were busy with projects, exhibits, assignments. Teachers and students alike have responded that a very special unity was created among teachers, and between them and their students. Many teachers expressed a feeling of extraordinary accomplishment in the results of the bi-centennial school year. Teachers also report that student enthusiasm and ingenuity with projects and activities was at a high level. There appeared to be only a relatively few negative responses from students to "all this patriotic stuff."

When asked whether the emphasis on patriotism tended to produce crass chauvinism in students, the response was "not in the least." On the contrary, Marshall teachers whom I interviewed report that the teaching of patriotism in conjunction with character education tends to elicit a response of "good citizenship" and an appreciation of its attendant responsibilities. I was told that the pride in country developed by these students is built upon an understanding of history, the philosophy, the accomplishments and the civil liberties guaranteed. A general response from students was, "It's good to be an American."

One teacher reported that he felt his greatest accomplishment in teaching patriotism was encouraging students to see both the Nation's greatness and its problems in proper perspective. This, he believed, stimulated his students to think in terms of responsible participation in the democratic processes. He said, "My students, while maintaining pride in the greatness of their country, can still

contemplate the problems we face. Yet they want to work within the system to attack or solve these problems. They don't want to 'throw the baby out with the bath water.' " Another teacher pointed out that her senior students had developed the practice of considering current problems and practices, government policy, and even some specific legislation, within the parameters of what they believe to be the fundamental principles of the Constitution and the philosophy of Western Culture. Still another teacher stated that the teaching of patriotism to her charges instilled in them a belief in the need for cooperation and sustaining the law. One teacher believed that instruction in patriotism, along with character education, tended to impart the feeling of "I belong" to students across racial and ethnic lines. Since Marshall is a multi-racial school, this teacher felt this to be the most important accomplishment of the bicentennial program.

Nevertheless, there has been some negative response to the teaching of patriotism at Marshall. Some leaders of the Pasadena Teacher Unions have been openly hostile to all facets of fundamental education, including instruction in patriotism and character education. These are characteristically educators who prefer the "open" classroom and who follow the NEA emphasis on "world" rather than "national" citizenship. The fact that Marshall is a fully integrated school has also presented problems. While the Pasadena Unified School District is under Federal Court mandate to integrate its schools by forced busing, Marshall is integrated voluntarily, and there is a long waiting list for admittance. Many advocates of *forced* busing fear that *voluntary* integration, called "tokenism," might catch on.

Some Black citizens have voiced the opinion that fundamental education, in all its ramifications, is prejudicial to what is described as "Black Culture." Shirley Smith, defeated candidate for the Pasadena School Board in 1975, reported to the *Pasadena Star News* on August 18 of that year that the fundamental school, with its emphasis on discipline, patriotism and character education, was ignoring the cultural differences and other factors in the background of Black children. She and others contend that fundamental education

impresses upon Black children "white middle-class values." It is her belief that, "We do not need to act 'white' any more than we need to look 'white' in order to be productive citizens."

Opposition has also come from Pasadena's American Friends Service Committee. This committee has proposed a "Peace Program" for the public schools which calls for a repudiation of "nationalism" and the defense of the country and promotes unilateral disarmament.

When a prominent Protestant parochial school closed in 1974, a large number of its student body, especially those in the advanced grades, opted to attend Marshall Fundamental School. The religion of these students forbids them to pledge allegiance to the flag; therefore, they were not required to participate in the ceremony and were given the option to work on projects that did not involve the bicentennial. However, while most refrained from the flag salute, some participated in other patriotic activities along with the rest of the students with no apparent diminishing of enthusiasm. Because of the alternatives available to these students, no parental opposition surfaced.

In sum, the teaching of patriotism at Marshall Fundamental School seems to have engendered enthusiastic response from faculty, parents, students, a number of interested citizens, civic and service clubs. This enthusiasm seems to have been especially pronounced during the bicentennial year. Perhaps we have witnessed at Marshall the phenomenon discussed by Professors Robert Hogan, Johns Hopkins University; Dr. James McConnell, University of Michigan; and Michael Brody at the George Washington Medical School. It is their belief that a new wave of patriotism is sweeping the country. "There has always been a deep feeling of patriotism in American culture," reasons Dr. Hogan, "but there was no outlet for it. The bicentennial offered an opportunity for this patriotism to be expressed." Dr. McConnell believes that, "Part of patriotism is learning that everyone must work together for the good of the country as a whole. I think we are learning this principle afresh." Finally, Dr. Brody declares, "This feeling — that it's O.K. to be an American — is very sound psychologically."

BLUE SPARKS IN DARK CLOSETS

—for P.T.P., 1896-1975

He is old, two weeks to eighty,
who reads in Greek and Latin
the weighty matins to another day.

He is dying and wants to die
but hates the vespertine light.
So I with the night come to him and stay

to feed him broth and such small news
as 'Andy's ordered his seed.'
But he eschews my need to nourish him.

Hard as this galvanized winter,
he goes about his dying,
imprinter of his last lying on grim

and accepting hospital bed,
nor can think of long-days spring
for himself dead and scattering like chaff.

He recedes into his covers.
I leave him to his leaving
and discover his grieving epitaph

in the closet getting my coat,
when the hanger strikes a spark
to denote by that thin arc his going.

He who knew languages, soil, art,
and music lighted our dark.
We part and mark you, Peter, by our knowing.

RICHARD SNYDER

The Armenian School

. . . a survival program

LILLIE D. MERIGIAN

The private schools in this country — parochial, profit-seeking and ethnic — provide a significant corollary to the American system of mass education. The objectives and function of the parochial and profit-seeking schools are perhaps self-evident and have usually been unquestioned and justified in a country where the concepts of freedom of religion and free enterprise prevail. The ethnic school, however, even in the mind of the most altruistic patriot, has had a questionable status because its very existence seems to threaten or even jeopardize the stability of the American status quo. However, during the last two or three decades, as the “melting pot” theory gave way to the concept of strength in diversity, greater impetus has been given to the development of ethnic awareness and pride among minorities with varying cultural backgrounds.

The first Armenian school was founded by Mr. Gabriel Injejian in September, 1964, under the auspices of the Holy Martyrs Armenian Apostolic Church in Encino, California, some 50 years after a major influx of Armenians into the United States as a result of the widespread deportations and massacres of one and a half million Armenians by the Turkish government in 1915. Since 1964, seven other Armenian schools have opened in rapid succession: the Armenian Mesrobian School, Pico Rivera, California, 1965; the Armenian Sisters Academy, Radnor, Pennsylvania, 1967; the A.G.B.U. (Armenian General Benevolent Union) Alex Manoogian School, Southfield, Michigan, 1969; the Alex Pilibos Armenian School, Hollywood, California, 1969; the A.G.B.U. Armenian

Elementary School, Watertown, Massachusetts, 1970; the A.R.S. (Armenian Relief Society) Day School, Dearborn, Michigan, 1973; and the St. Peters A.G.B.U. School, Van Nuys, California, 1975.

Historically, Armenians have been an industrious and education-minded people wherever they have migrated, be it eastern Europe, France, the Middle East, South America, Australia, Canada or the United States. Despite the periodical upheaval of communities in the diaspora, as is the case in Beirut, Lebanon, today, Armenians have been and are implacable builders not only of monuments to their tragic past, but of communities with active religious, political, cultural, social, athletic and educational programs. Armenians have had to "dig in" to survive because they have long been a nation without a free and independent homeland. The Armenian has been in constant danger of obliteration whether it be attempted annihilation by the nefarious actions of a Turkish state or assimilation into the mainstream of a dominant culture.

Herein, of course, lies the rationale for the establishment of the Armenian school in this or any other country. It is a survival program to retard, deter and hopefully hinder the demise of an "endangered species" — the Armenian people. Recently, the *New York Times* published an article about the Armenian Sisters Academy in Radnor, Pennsylvania. The article concluded with a statement that holds great significance insofar as the *raison d'être* of the Armenian school is concerned: ". . . in its still brief existence (the school) attracted the attention — and largesse — of the relatively well-to-do Armenian community, many of whose members now regard the school as a cause."

To some parents whose children attend the Armenian school, it is an escape from the strife, violence and drugs which pervade some of the public schools today. However, for those who are directly involved with the Armenian school movement, the school is a means not only of teaching the Armenian language and history, but, perhaps what is of even greater concern, of instilling and nurturing that intangible something called Armenianism in each student. It is a means of inculcating pride in his 2,500-year-old culture, a means of elevating his self-esteem as an Armenian, a means of

developing that inherent substance that makes him what he is in terms of national character, a means of relating his existence to the plight or condition of six million people dispossessed of their historic homeland and to other peoples of the world at large. It is indeed a means of perpetuating a cause. And that is perhaps the greatest distinction between the Armenian schools in this country and the public schools and other private schools. Otherwise, why should Armenians spend millions of dollars, work thousands of hours and render much personal sacrifice to build and sustain Armenian schools when most metropolitan areas offer public education in elaborate school complexes with extensive equipment, materials and widespread community support?

a sense of national pride

Attempting to achieve national and cultural goals through education is in the historical context of all nations which are striving to develop national character and to meet national needs. The Armenian school attempts to teach students to learn, analyze and appreciate the works and accomplishments of Armenian writers, artists, musicians, scientists, philosophers, not just for the sake of enrichment, but to create a sense of national pride.

When a student studies Mark Twain in his American literature class, he learns that Huck Finn is not a typical American but that he embodies unique characteristics which make him American. Transmitting that knowledge and insight is first a means of enriching his literary background and second an indirect means of arousing pride in his national literature. When an Armenian student studies the works of Armenian writers, the emphasis must needs be an explicit approach to the national character of the work and a secondary, albeit important, concern for enriching his literary background. Furthermore, and it may seem paradoxical, the student must be directed to recognize the universality of the themes in the literature in order to perceive himself and his heritage as a distinct but relevant component within the mosaic of the many different cultures of the world. Consequently, teaching students in an Armenian school requires a full measure of national chauvinism

— that is, enough to stir their imagination and arouse their concern.

The task is not an easy one. How to teach Johnnie to read in the American public school has become a formidable concern among educators and parents in a country where literacy is concomitant with good citizenship and where bookstores, libraries and magazine stands are replete with reading matter for every age group and interest. How much more difficult it is to provide adequate motivation for an Armenian student for whom reading and speaking the Armenian language in America has little or no relevancy. Again, the Armenian school with its limited resources must invoke a sense of national pride within the student and attempt to show him the necessity and urgency of learning and perpetuating his mother tongue. Thus, nationalism in the Armenian school is not merely a desirable by-product but a very real and necessary concern in the education of Armenian children.

a beginning

During the fifty years prior to the founding of the first Armenian daily school in this country, the Armenian community relied exclusively on its Saturday schools, Sunday schools and evening schools to educate its youth. For many years Armenians dreamed of having a regular day school, but none materialized until the mid-sixties, when Holy Martyrs Ferrahian opened with twelve students. The enrollment increased rapidly as the years passed, and, in 1969, the first graduating class — seven students — received high school diplomas during impressive, emotion-packed ceremonies at the foot of the Armenian Martyrs Monument in Montebello, California. It was indeed an historic and proud day for the Armenian community. The school, with grades seven through twelve, offers a college preparatory curriculum supplemented by a variety of courses in the field of Armenian studies, such as Armenian language (elementary through classical Armenian), history, literature, church history, group singing, drama, folk dancing and sociology. Among the many field trips are visits to various Armenian institutions in

the southern California area in order to acquaint the student with the community and encourage his involvement in it.

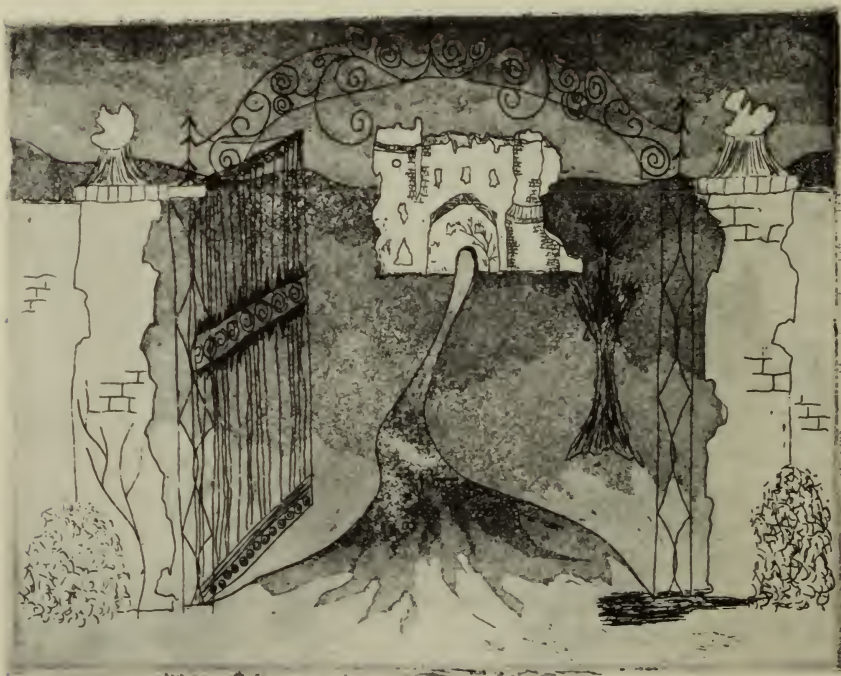
Governed by a nine-person board, the school strives to meet its budget (a projected \$200,000 for 1976-77) with income from the nominal tuition fees, extensive fund-raising by affiliated organizations, contributions from individuals and donations from Armenian educational and charitable institutions in the community. For these many years, the school has been housed in a converted residence limited by city fire regulations to an enrollment of 100 students. Within the confines of a dwelling lacking the conveniences, equipment and facilities of most present-day schools, Holy Martyrs Ferrahian has a family-like atmosphere wherein principal, teachers and students have a comradeship that is bound not only by ethnic homogeneity but by a mutual respect for what each is attempting to accomplish and why. This is not to say that personal, professional and student learning and behavior problems do not occur. This intimacy does indeed at times breed contempt. However, it seems that the bond is even greater after flare-ups or conflicts because there is that undercurrent of reminders of the aspirations and objectives of the school which no one can ignore.

Some of the tensions and frustrations created by the lack of space and equipment will be relieved in September, when the first wing of the new million-dollar school complex is occupied. The new building, when completed, will accommodate a total of 350 students and provide room for expansion and development of the school program. The functional and beautiful structure, designed by Armenian architect Vahram Kevork Jebejian, will fulfill the academic, social and athletic needs of the school and its immediate community.

Currently, the school has 134 graduates, who have formed an alumni association. Most of them have gone on to colleges and universities, and a number have already received degrees in political science, psychology, architecture, pharmacy, linguistics, business administration, history, anthropology, engineering and music. And what is even more gratifying is the interest and concern many of the graduates show toward their school. They visit frequently, vol-

unteer their services as tutors or office aids, work on fund-raising projects, encourage younger brothers and sisters to attend, and, most important, they marry Armenians and speak of sending their children to the Armenian school!

At the present time, there are an estimated 500,000 Armenians living in the United States, and approximately 2,000 are enrolled in Armenian schools. With the current immigration of Armenians from the Soviet Union and Lebanon, the numbers are increasing rapidly, and the need for more schools is evident. It is too early to make any significant assessments of Armenian education in this country. However, it should be noted that the degree of pride and satisfaction in the existing schools is matched only by the debt of gratitude Armenians feel toward this country, which, despite the conflicts and disparities, has been a fertile valley for free-breathing minorities.



CHARLOTTE HARTWELL

WORDSWORTH

— for Keith and
Rosemarie

Fire, that is
a landscape for the blind
covered him quickly.
Portion of pleasure
Portion of ash
and mind.
On days like that
after staring hard
at wind lifting some daffodils,
what did he see?
A fence or field, a bridge
a rainbow leaping —
at one end hanging fire,
from the other, fiercely, ash.
Green mud between
unregenerate mud
that gave birth to everything.
States beyond, a state away
too clear to be remembered,
leading out, and Earth
that gave and took them from him.
finally. Portion
of pleasure, ash.
Through cracked frames
in a backward-swing sash
deer strolled
past the window where he sat
but not to greet him.
A dweller by a fire
cut off all winter,
waiting it out.
O log, O bright exchange
we shift in front of.

MICHAEL WOLFE

Critical Thinking in '76

The Declaration of Independence Reexamined

STANLEY D. IVIE

Critical thinking. What is it? Surely it is one of our most cherished educational goals (along with creativity and self-realization). Critical thinking. What is it that we do when we think critically? The annals of modern education are filled with reports extolling its virtues. Critical thinking. Can we teach it in the classroom? What is it — how do we do it — and can we teach it? These are the essential questions toward which this inquiry is directed.

Let us be clear about one thing: Critical thinking is not the same thing as the act of being critical. One can think critically about something without being critical of that which he is thinking about. It is possible, for instance, to examine critically the belief in God without necessarily being critical of that belief. Similarly, one can be critical of a belief without first having gone through the necessary steps for forming a critical opinion. (We call such a person a bigot!) Thus critical thinking is the process we go through when we wish to substantiate our opinions. It is the way we go about validating our ideas.

What is critical thinking? Unfortunately, none of our standard reference works addresses itself to this question. And of those sources that are available — most of them appearing in the field of philosophy — there is the tendency to equate critical thinking with the study of formal logic or the development of a scientific mode of reasoning. (If we want to think critically, we must learn to think like Wittgenstein.) Such a conception, whatever its merits, is exceedingly narrow. Common sense tells us that engineers think critically about bridges; composers think critically about music;

and educators think critically about teaching. Critical thinking is not the exclusive privilege of a philosophical mind. What is critical thinking? Let us propose the following conception: Critical thinking is the reflective examination of the basic assumptions underlying a given pattern of thought. The key word here is *reflective*. What is reflective thinking? We think reflectively when we look forward and backward at one and the same time, when we tie together what would otherwise be only so many diffused segments of experience, when we take a careful look at the assumptions upon which we have acted in the past and contrast them with the ones which we project for ourselves into the future. Critical thinking, in a word, is what we mean when we say, "I understand."

Critical thinking is reflective thinking. Very well. But how is it to be done? Can we give an illustration? This being the year of the bicentennial — two hundred years since the birth of our nation — it seems only fitting and proper to take a reflective look at the document that proclaimed that great event, the Declaration of Independence. No other document is so eulogized by our public schools, yet universally misunderstood. No other set of words are so frequently committed to memory, yet remain shrouded in mystery. Does the Declaration of Independence defy understanding?

The Declaration of Independence is a child of the eighteenth century Enlightenment. We all know, for instance, that it was written by Thomas Jefferson (with the advice of Benjamin Franklin). But what is less well known is the fact that little of what Jefferson had to say was strictly his own. Being well versed in the ideas of his time, Jefferson borrowed freely from John Locke's "Treatises on Government." The Declaration of Independence, then, is based on a set of philosophical assumptions that have their home in the eighteenth century. Before reflecting on these assumptions, let us take a closer look at the paragraph in which the heart of Jefferson's argument is contained.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are insti-

tuted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government. . . .

What are the philosophical assumptions underlying Jefferson's prose? They are composed of a handful of the most cherished beliefs of the eighteenth century: (1) rationalism; (2) natural law; (3) compact theory of government; (4) popular sovereignty; (5) and the right of revolution. Let us consider each as it is reflected in the language of the Declaration of Independence.

1. *Rationalism.* The eighteenth century was an age of reason; it was an age that believed in "a priori" ideas. Thus when the Declaration of Independence declared, "We hold these truths to be self-evident," it struck a familiar chord in the minds of all enlightened men. But what is a self-evident truth? It is one, argues the rationalist, that exists in the mind prior to experience. Furthermore, these truths are evident to one and all (not unlike the axioms and postulates of geometry). These truths are not only inherent to man's nature, but they constitute the proper foundation for his understanding. What are some of these truths? According to Jefferson they are, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights. . . ."

2. *Natural law.* What are "unalienable rights?" Technically they are rights that cannot be taken away. Why is this the case? Because they are granted by nature. The Enlightenment was greatly influenced by the thought of Sir Isaac Newton. If there were laws that applied to the movement of physical bodies in space (such as the Law of Gravity), then perhaps there were laws that applied to human society as well. These natural laws — laws governing all human institutions — could not be abridged by any sovereign power. What nature had bestowed, no man could take away. What are these natural rights? Jefferson says they are, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

How are our natural rights to be preserved? Here we come to the function of government. Jefferson tells us, "That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their

just powers from the consent of the governed. . . ." What are the assumptions underlying this bit of eighteenth century logic? There are two parallel ideas: (3) *Compact theory of government*, and (4) *Popular sovereignty*. The social contract theorists — Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau — asserted that man had once lived in a state of nature. (They disagreed, however, as to how they envisioned this primeval beginning. Hobbes thought it had been a war of every man against every other man. Locke believed that it had been a relatively pleasant time but that there had been serious limitations on property rights. Rousseau viewed it as a time of primitive innocence.) Irrespective of their differences, the social contract theorists agreed that man had once held sovereignty over himself — over his own actions — but that he had voluntarily surrendered his personal sovereignty to the state in a social contract. Hence the state came into being for one specific purpose — to protect the natural rights of its citizens.

5. *The right of revolution*. What if the social contract should be broken, if the sovereign should abuse his powers? Clearly an escape clause was needed. Thus we find Jefferson saying, ". . . whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government. . . ." The sovereign, having violated the contract, was no longer to be honored in his control over the people's lives. Citizens had the right of revolution, to overthrow the tyrant and to create a new government, one that would do what governments were supposed to do, namely, protect the natural rights of its citizens.

Rationalism, natural law, compact theory of government, popular sovereignty and the right of revolution — these are the assumptions underlying the language of the Declaration of Independence. Wait. The list is not complete. There is one more, unstated but generic to all the others. What is it? The belief in the basic rationality of man. Man is, above all else, a rational animal, a creature whose actions are guided by his intellect. Is not the whole grand design — from self-evident truths to the right of revolution — a rational conception of the nature of man?

twentieth century parallel

The Declaration of Independence is an eighteenth century document. Well and good. But we are no longer living in the eighteenth century. Ours is a very different age, an age of science and the wonders of the computer. What are the philosophical assumptions of the twentieth century parallel to those contained in the Declaration of Independence? Any list would surely include the following: (1) empiricism; (2) the cultural relativity of law; (3) the evolution of the state; (4) the power elite; and (5) constructive change.

1. *Empiricism.* The twentieth century's answer to the question of knowledge has been couched in the language of science. To be known (or so we are told) is to be known scientifically. But what philosophical assumption underlies scientific inquiry? Empiricism, pure and simple. In the words of John Dewey: "There is but one sure road of access to truth — the road of patient, cooperative inquiry operating by means of observation, experiment, record and controlled reflection."¹ The twentieth century has rejected any claims of "a priori" truths; its logic has been "a posteriori." The only way of arriving at valid knowledge is via the route of sense data. All propositions are to be questioned (except, perhaps, those of empiricism itself).

2. *The cultural relativity of law.* What has happened to natural law theory in the twentieth century? No self-respecting scholar would any longer claim — as Blackstone did in the eighteenth century — that English common law was the embodiment of natural law itself. If there are laws of nature (which is itself no longer clear), they seem to have very little to do with the workings of human society. Research in the behavioral sciences has led us to the conclusion that law is a function of society; it reflects time, place and circumstance. Mankind has developed a wide range of cultural forms for meeting its basic needs — food, shelter and social organization — but no single form is inherently superior to any of the others. Furthermore, the rights that one enjoys depend upon

¹Dewey, John, *A Common Faith*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960.

the society in which he happens to find himself. In the United States, for instance, one has the right to organize a corporation and to make a profit, but not in the Soviet Union. In a polygamous society a man has a right to more than one wife, but not in modern America. In the nineteenth century a man was secure in the defense of his property. But not today. A thief also has rights. What rights does a man enjoy? It all depends upon his society.

3. *The evolution of the state.* What is the origin of the state? Scholars do not agree as to its beginnings. Political theorists offer us a wide assortment of conflicting views. Most of our theories, however, lend little credence to the social contract doctrine of the eighteenth century. Indeed, to suggest that a group of men once came together, seated themselves on a log in the middle of the wilderness and forthrightly surrendered up their personal sovereignty, seems to border on the absurd! The state, in all probability, is the end product of a long process of evolution. It came into being for a variety of historical reasons — social, economic, military — none of which had anything to do with the deliberative powers of the human mind. No one ever willed the state into being. Like Topsy, it just grew.

4. *The power elite.* Where does sovereignty reside? Popular opinion vests it in "the People." But who are "the People"? (Does it include Richard Nixon?) When the concept of "the People" is examined carefully, it tends to evaporate into a myriad of conflicting groups and individuals. But suppose, for the sake of argument, that we designate the term "the People" to mean whatever the majority opinion is on some particular issue. Would it not then be possible to make a case for popular sovereignty? Hardly. There is little evidence to support the contention that the vast majority of mankind has ever held sway over its own destiny. Every society, of which we have any knowledge, has been ruled by one elite or another. (Toynbee calls them the creative minority.) The ruling elite has always controlled the sources of power in society, the institutions through which we regulate and govern human behavior. C. Wright Mills contends that the United States is ruled by a triumvirate of major corporations, powerful politicians and

the military. It is the power elite that creates the policies that shape the course of American history. And what of the majority? They follow where their leaders take them.

5. *Constructive change.* Jefferson may have thought that it was a good idea to have a revolution every few decades; but, given the present mood of American society, his suggestion is likely to fall on deaf ears. Change, of course. That is inevitable. But revolution. Certainly not! Such things smack of communism. Besides, the stakes are too high. We have too much to lose. America stands as a pillar of conservatism in the middle of the twentieth century. We are the great bulwark against radical change. "Things are pretty good . . . let's not throw everything away." Though we glorify our own revolution, we question the right of others to do the same.

Finally, what is our model of man, our view of human nature? The twentieth century has been profoundly influenced by the thought of Sigmund Freud. We are aware of the wide range of human behavior that seems to stem from the unconscious mind. Emotion, not reason, is the true basis for most of our actions. The Enlightenment saw man as a rational being, one step removed from the heavens. The twentieth century, on the other hand, is inclined to view man as a bundle of conflicting emotions, only recently descended from the trees. Much of what we formerly called reason turns out to be nothing more than convenient rationalization. Man is a psychoneurotic animal, a creature who at times seems hell-bent on his own destruction. True, men do from time to time sit down and reason with one another. But only after they have exhausted every other possibility. We are all slightly mad. Those of us who are locked up in mental institutions are merely the ones who have specialized.

eighteenth century philosophical assumptions

The Declaration of Independence is based on a set of eighteenth century philosophical assumptions. The twentieth century, how-

ever, has tossed most of these assumptions to the wind. Thus the words of Thomas Jefferson, though they may have been true at the time they were written, are in the present framework of philosophical assumptions nothing more than social poetry. (Which is not to deny their usefulness as a source of national motivation.) But suppose, if you will, that the Declaration of Independence had been written in the present century. How might it sound? Let us consider the following possibility.

We contend that these propositions — that is, functional hypotheses — have a warranted degree of statistical assertability; that all *Persons* are created equal; that they are endowed by their culture with certain socially sanctioned rights; that among these are welfare, alimony, and the credit system. That, in order to secure these rights, a vast federal bureaucracy has evolved, deriving its just powers from an application of Parkinson's Law and deficit spending; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of every special interest group to initiate through the courts unending suits of litigation.

So where does all of that leave us? Let us return to our original questions. (1) What is critical thinking? Critical thinking is the reflective examination of the basic assumptions underlying a pattern of thought. (The philosophical assumptions underlying the Declaration of Independence were derived from the eighteenth century, and they are quite different from those which we operate upon in the twentieth century.) (2) What is it that we do when we think critically? Here the words of Alfred North Whitehead seem to have a timely ring. He reminds us that fundamental progress is only possible through the re-examination of basic ideas. Thus critical thinking must be reflective: It must look forward and backward at one and the same time; it must make parallel connections between segments of experience that have been extracted from the past, and it must contrast those experiences with the ones that we project for ourselves into the future. (The philosophical assumptions contained in the Declaration of Independence have been replaced by an alternative set of assumptions within the twentieth century.) And finally, (3) can critical thinking be taught in the schools? Critical

thinking can be taught as surely as any other skill. (Students can do more than merely memorize Jefferson's words.) But having said this, let us add a note of caution. In teaching critical thinking, let us not claim more for ourselves than credit will allow; that is, knowing the rules of logic has little to do with preparing one to understand the Declaration of Independence; and likewise, understanding the Declaration of Independence has little to do with understanding logical rules. Though transfer is possible, and though it can be enhanced by learning basic ideas, where critical thinking is concerned, we are better off following a modest rule of thumb: *Assume only that your students can learn.*

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Four Myths About Language

NATALIE SCHORR

O wad some Pow'r the giftie gie us
To see oursels as others see us!
It wad frae monie a blunder free us
An' foolish notion:

— *Burns*

So prevalent are myths about languages that collusion might be suspected among policy makers, linguists and teachers in their presentation of foreign languages. Governmental policies have been responsible for the positioning of languages outside the core of the curriculum. Linguists had, from 1900 until after World War II, systematically removed any reference to 'meaning' from their descriptions of language. Teachers have too often taught about languages in the guise of teaching them. Because of this triple bias, other myths have been promoted through misinformation. Such myths are comforting delusions intended to shield the believer from the impact of reality.

I do not feel that only Americans believe and promote myths about language, but I am interested in discovering why Americans harbor these myths and in disputing the reasons some Americans give for not studying foreign languages. Otherwise languages need no defense.

"Language is not a problem unless," as Einar Haugen wrote, "it is used as a basis for discrimination, but," he continues, "it has in fact been so used as far back as we have records."¹ To this I would

¹Einar Haugen, "The Curse of Babel," Einar Haugen and Morton Bloomfield, eds. *Language as a Human Problem*, New York: Norton, 1973, p. 40.

add the words of E. H. Carr:

In many countries minorities are discriminated against on grounds which they feel to be irrelevant, and these minorities cease to feel, and to be regarded, as members of the community.

In the international community, such discrimination is endemic.²

The international need for understanding, then, is even greater than the national one.

Myths about language are interrelated, but they could be divided into four basic types: 1) myths about the nature of language, 2) myths about the ability to learn language, 3) myths about the variety of languages and speakers, and 4) myths about the place of foreign languages in American society. This is not an exhaustive catalog of the myths, but it may be taken to represent those that I have frequently heard.

1. *Myths about the nature of language.*

basic myth:

Languages are codes in which words have fixed meanings.

variations:

"Foreign languages are available in English."

"I've done Russian in translation."

"Foreign translations can be done by computer."

"Everything worth knowing is available in translation."

"Foreigners all speak English so there's no point in learning their languages."

"A language is a set of habits."

"Learning a language is just a skill."

Translation may be offered as a reason for arguing that languages need only be learned by a few, but an awareness of the nature of language cannot be so expediently delegated to someone else. The main reason that the study of a foreign language should be required of everyone is to promote an awareness of the nature of language.

²Edward Hallett Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis: 1919-1939*, 1939: New York, Harper, 1964, p. 163.

If a foreign language is taught in such a way as to make its nature and functions clear, then any amount of exposure is worthwhile.

The first group of myths tends to imply that languages are interchangeable codes. But there is no such thing as 'reading Russian in English.' When "I can get it in translation" is used to mean "I can get other languages in translation," something is overlooked: namely, that translations of natural languages must be done by *someone* who understands the language.

What is correctly translated into English as "no" might have been "yes" in Arabic or "thank you" in French, depending on the situation. "Out of sight, out of mind" might be rendered by computer as "Blind, insane." It is no wonder that experiments with existing technology have been so disappointing. Computers can hardly be blamed for not being able to think, but many thousands of hours have been wasted because of someone's false assumption that translation was a question of degree of complexity rather than of quality of complexity. Chomsky states emphatically

there is no reason to expect that available technology can provide significant insight or understanding or useful achievements; it has noticeably failed to do so and, in fact, an appreciable investment of time, energy, and money in the use of computers for linguistic research . . . has not provided any significant advance in our understanding of the use or nature of language.³

The typical problem of someone who remains monolingual is his assumption that the meanings attached to words are obvious, absolute and inevitable. The newscasters who until recently referred to the Republic of China as "Red China" were monolingual in the sense of being unaware of the values their words implied.

I would like to make one additional point here: that anyone learning a language by only one pedagogical method is liable to learn more about the nature of the method than about the nature of language.

³Noam Chomsky, *Language and Mind*, 1968, New York: Harcourt, 1972, pp. 4-5.

2. *Myths about the ability to learn language.*

basic myth:

A native language is not a language.

variations:

"I can't learn languages."

"Some people just can't learn languages."

"Americans aren't good at languages."

"Languages can't be taught in schools."

"Languages are just absorbed."

"Learning languages is just rote memory."

The myth that 'a native language is not a language' is believed by all people who claim they cannot learn languages. Unconscious denials of having learned English (or whatever other first language) abound. However, anyone who has learned English as a first language has already demonstrated the ability to speak in what some other groups consider a miraculously complex foreign tongue:

Children do learn a first language; the language they learn is, in the traditional sense, an 'instituted language', not an innately specified system.⁴

Children are not genetically predisposed to learn one language rather than another. The extent to which we, as Americans, do learn foreign languages has little to do with our potentialities. From their apparent lack of success in learning foreign languages, many have concluded that Americans in general have a gross national language disability. But even individual disabilities will appear to have been overemphasized if one looks at the example of some national groups, such as the Swiss, who have mastered several languages.

Learning a second language is necessarily a different experience from learning a first, and there are obviously factors such as age and ability which will make the process of learning a second

⁴Ibid, p. 22.

language different for each person, but attitudes need not be as contradictory as they have been. On the one hand, parents reward their child's first attempts at communication. On the other hand, teachers complain that their students have not learned any grammar before learning a foreign language. It seems that experiences with the first and second languages could inform each other better than they do. Formal grammar could be more often used as a means of understanding one's use of English, just as example and practice could be more often stressed as ways of learning to speak a foreign language.

"You can't learn languages in school" becomes the logical complaint when learning a second language is compared to learning a first. There are many ways of coming to the false conclusion that languages do not yield to systematic study. One might be from the experience of having learned about a language for years without having learned to speak it. Another might be from having learned to speak a foreign language fairly fluently in only a year in a foreign country. There is, however, other evidence. One might just as well consider the experience of an immigrant family in which the children learn the language of the land because they go to school, whereas the parents, who are isolated at home, have to wait to be taught by their children. Many students have learned how to speak a foreign language with reasonable competence after a relatively small number of hours in a classroom.

3. *Myths about the variety of languages and speakers.*

basic myth:

The diversity of languages should be a basis for ranking people as types.

variations:

"We don't want to get your accent."

"Some languages are better than others."

"French Canadian is terrible French."

"English should be a world language because it is so clear."

"Foreigners are people who can't speak English."

By the time I was finally told I had an American accent, I was twenty-three and living in France. After my first lecture on American Civilization, a subject I felt ill equipped to discuss, I was pleased that students seemed to be coming up to ask questions. It turned out that they had been sent to me as delegates to ask if I would mind not giving the course in American because the other students were afraid they would get my accent. Even though I knew that to them American was a foreign language, it had never occurred to me that I had a foreign accent, or, for that matter, any accent at all.

Aside from the French, who, for historical and idiosyncratic reasons, tend to refer only to the inhabitants of Tours as not having an accent, most people think of the way they speak as the norm. Canadian French is often considered bad French by Americans who forget that Canadian French is to the French of Tours as American English is to Oxbridge English. American English can be a source of embarrassment as well as a source of pride, but it should be neither.

No other national group is as embarrassed as Americans are upon hearing their language spoken in other countries. I've heard some Americans say of others, "They are *so* American" or "They are very American," simply because the Americans referred to were speaking English among themselves. It is difficult to see how anyone can be 'more' or 'less' American than anyone else with the same citizenship. Furthermore, there is nothing wrong with speaking English except in situations where it shuts off communication. Knowing another language counteracts feelings of inferiority for Americans abroad just as it destroys the myth of the inherent superiority of English for Americans at home. For someone who can speak other languages too, there is no shame attached to speaking English.

Saying that languages are equal, though, is just as silly as saying that they are unequal. If languages cannot be ranked in terms of better or worse, they cannot be equal either. Although languages have universal features, and although language is a universal human characteristic, languages are different, and their differences must be recognized if anyone is to get on with education.

Restriction to one language suggests not just a narrow perspective but a distorted one. It is common for American students to define *foreigner* as "someone who is not American" or "someone who can't speak English."

The study of any second language may be justified as an escape from the distortions of monolingualism. For North Americans who have been restricted to English, Spanish and French are likely choices, but Russian and Chinese, for example, would be good choices too. Arguments for the acquisition of any language should not be taken as arguments against others. When there is rivalry among the proponents of the various languages taught in the United States, it comes from the desire to promote academic specialties, rather than from an interest in languages.

4. *Myths about the place of foreign languages in American society.*

basic myth:

Foreign languages are unrelated to the needs of American society.

variations:

"The trouble with foreign languages is that they take the place of the more important subjects."

"It is so absurd to be studying a foreign language when there's a war going on."

"There's no need to learn a foreign language unless you want to teach it."

"Foreign languages are never any good unless you go to Europe for vacations."

"Who needs them?"

"I'll never need a foreign language" usually conveys the assumption that languages are fine for asking how to get to the Louvre and the Prado, but otherwise useless. If not foreign languages, perhaps American languages? The term "American languages" is not often heard, but it properly refers to the languages of native Americans. In his *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, Franz Boas listed fifty-five linguistic families which may be distinguished

in North America, north of Mexico. Also neglected by English speaking Americans are French and Spanish as spoken in large areas of North America.

Furthermore, the quality of American citizenship is affected by more than what goes on within the borders of the North American languages. Knowledge of foreign areas is greatly underestimated as a way for Americans to gain a sense of politics. In fact even the connotation of the word *politics* tends to be different in the United States from elsewhere. An interest in *politics* in the United States often suggests insincerity or triviality, rather than an interest in understanding political structures.

In her commencement address at the University of Michigan this year, Françoise Giroud argued that if French students were offered a trip to the United States and one to the Soviet Union, there would be fewer Communists in France.⁵ It is interesting to speculate what ideological changes might eventually result if Americans were offered trips to France and the Soviet Union, but I think that the gain would be the replacement of polarization by a sense of politics.

Arnold Toynbee, known to complain that Americans think there is a solution to every problem, did himself offer a solution to Americans. In *America and the World Revolution*, he charted the course of America as it turned from a revolutionary to a conservative symbol for the rest of the world. He said that Americans were isolated by the 'burden of affluence' and suggested that they might rejoin the world community if they were able to live in other countries as other people live. He saw the problem, though, as more than a matter of sending a few selected goodwill ambassadors, and he felt that American representatives would not be effective until there was some correlation between the representatives and the society represented. He concluded that, in order for the scheme to work, Americans would have to change their attitudes.⁶

Toynbee's feeling that Americans are too rich to live anywhere

⁵Françoise Giroud, "La Renaissance Américaine," *L'Express*, 17-23 May, 1976, p. 73.

⁶Arnold Toynbee, *America and the World Revolution*, New York: Oxford, 1962, pp. 134-143.

but in the United States may be contrasted with the feeling of many Americans that they cannot afford to travel. Toynbee perhaps overlooked, in this case, the areas of severe poverty in the United States, but he is right that many Americans feel that they cannot afford to travel because of their dependence on material goods, which would be considered luxuries elsewhere.

Interest in areas of foreign study has not been great enough to indicate that such a change of attitude as Toynbee suggests is likely. In the *New York Times* earlier this year, Frederick Starr quoted statistics which document a decline in language enrollments:

The percentage of college undergraduates studying languages other than English has been dropping steadily since 1963, the rate of decline reaching 15% during the last two years. In the high schools the rollback has been underway since 1968, with the result that scarcely a fifth of high school graduates now have had even a superficial exposure to any language besides their own . . .

The American Council on Education estimates that about one in twenty undergraduates enrolls in courses that consider foreign peoples in any way. The number of American students in study programs abroad has shrunk by half since 1973 . . .

Language requirements for admission have been dropped at all but 10% of the nation's colleges and universities, and the number of institutions with no foreign language requirement for graduation has quadrupled since 1966. Barely half of those receiving the doctoral degree today must demonstrate even a reading knowledge of a foreign language . . .

The Federal Government's National Institute of Education spends \$70 million a year on improving pedagogy but has yet to invest in any aspect of international education.⁷

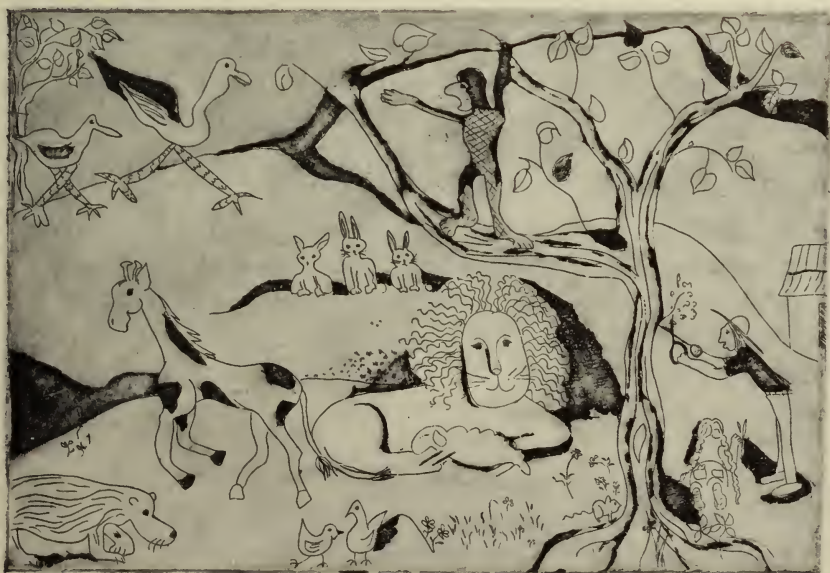
In spite of these statistics and facts, I do not believe that Americans are more linguistically isolated today, but rather that the tradition of linguistic isolation continues in spite of changed political circumstances.

When Jefferson praised the geographical isolation of the United States because it allowed for unimpeded development of domestic

⁷Frederick Starr, "Linguistically the United States is Isolationist," *The New York Times*, April 18, 1976.

institutions, he did not foresee how later isolationist trends would limit American political perceptions. Jefferson's own humane liberalism was fostered by his acquaintance with classical and romance languages and literatures, and he did not advocate that Americans should isolate themselves from the languages and cultures of other countries.

The present trends may soon be reversed, but whether this will represent a rejection of isolationism will depend on whether foreign languages and national policies are understood to be related. Americans learn best about other countries from direct experience of their languages and cultures, but there is a mutually corrective relationship between knowledge of other countries and knowledge of the United States. It is not so much that in other countries Americans represent the United States, but that through knowledge of other countries we find out what it is we represent.



JENNIFER BROWN

Russian Boarding Schools

Political Education in the Soviet Union

DONALD H. GOODYEAR

The textbook optimism about the future of Soviet society contains a footnote of uneasiness. A hasty reading might miss the implications of this footnote, but it gave to the Soviet Union a very special and highly political type of school, the *internat*.

In his speech to the Twentieth Party Congress, in February 1956, Nikita Khrushchev, in order "to solve the problem of creating the spiritual prerequisites for completing this historic transition from the lower stage of Communism to its higher stage," announced plans for establishing a system of boarding-schools. These were not to be simply a mechanical joining of academic and dormitory life, but were to be a new type of institution which would combine pedagogy with sociopsychological preconditioning. "The socialist state can and must organize the upbringing of children in immeasurably better fashion, for we must form not an aristocratic caste, deeply hostile to the people, but builders of a new society, people of great spirit and lofty ideals, wholeheartedly serving their people, who are marching in the vanguard of all progressive mankind."

What caused the Soviet leadership to propose the *internat*? As a result of the war, many widows faced the task of raising their children and at the same time maintaining the financial support of the family. This, of course, meant that many children were left totally in the care of older relatives or neighbors or, in some cases, were left without any supervision at all. Such conditions posed a threat to the Soviet political system, for the disappointment in the Revolution and the discouragement by the recent war were much a part of the older generation. If such ideas were passed on to the

post-war generation, the future of the Soviet Union could be jeopardized. It became necessary to insure the proper education and preconditioning of the new Soviet man, thereby establishing a powerful material and production base for a consolidated, contented society.

The idea of boarding-schools is not new in Russia. Before the October Revolution there existed many special, elitist educational institutions, such as those for the Pages Corps, the Cadet Corps, and for young girls of noble birth. These schools provided training in conformity with the interests of the czarist regime and of the propertied classes and were in keeping with the spirit of the times.

With the creation of the socialist state, the family and the school once again assumed a primary role in sociopolitical indoctrination, and the inter-war years witnessed the establishment of special children's homes designed to meet the problem of those children whose parents were divorced, imprisoned or dead. It was within this framework that the *internats* of the sixties would be developed.

It would seem expedient to set about building boarding-schools (we must give some thought to the name) in the suburbs, in the country-side, in healthful wooded areas. These schools should have bright, spacious classrooms, good dormitories, well-equipped dining-rooms, thoughtfully furnished centers for all kinds of extra-curricular activities, creating all conditions for the rounded physical and mental development of young citizens of the Soviet land. Children should be enrolled in these schools only at the request of their parents. The children would live at these boarding-schools and the parents could visit them on holidays, during vacations, or after school hours. Good teachers who meet the lofty calling of engineers of the souls of the rising generation should be selected for these schools. Children whose parents earn low wages or are burdened with large families should be maintained entirely by the state. Parents with larger incomes should pay a part of the cost of rearing the child in the boarding-school. Finally, some parents could repay to the state the full cost of educating the child. . . . There should be no stinting of funds or efforts for this purpose, since they will be repaid a hundred-fold.

That was in February, 1956. On 8 May, 1956, a special group of the Soviet hierarchy — Khrushchev, Suslov, Madame Furtseva,

Aristov and Belyayev — met with the Union Republic Ministers of Education, officials of territorial and provincial public education agencies, directors and teachers of secondary schools and children's homes, lesser Party personnel and representatives of various scientific institutions to discuss the establishment and maintenance of the boarding-schools, as well as the organization of the educational and "guardianship" program and the means of combining these with productive labor.

A week or so later, an article in *Kommunist* outlined to the Soviet public some overall characteristics and prerequisites of the new schools. These would not differ from the general education schools except in organization and in features of pedagogical work and regimen. Admission to the schools was open to any child whose parents made application, but the boarding-schools were not special schools for difficult, undisciplined or slow students. They would be co-educational, since "this helps train boys and girls in the spirit of comradeship, mutual respect and collectivism."

If the number of applications exceeded the planned enrollment, preference would be given to children without parents or from very large families. P. V. Zimin, Russian Republic Deputy Minister of Education, further explained that students could go to the boarding-schools only in their places of residence and that application for admission had to be made through a special, local commission of Soviet, Party and public organizations.

educational influence

An editorial in the 28 June issue of *Pravda* directed attention to the primary feature of the *shkola-internat*: the educational influence of the teacher/guardian would embrace the entire life of the student from early childhood, when he no longer needed direct, maternal care, until maturity.

As it is somewhat difficult to find a satisfactory English equivalent for the Russian word *vospitanie*, rendered as "upbringing" or "rearing," and implying a complex process of indoctrination and education, perhaps the best concept comes in the word "pre-

conditioning." Furthermore, a distinction in duties sharply distinguishes the teacher (*uchit'l*) from the guardian (*vospitat'l*).

The same editorial pointed out that "the boarding-schools will be able to give the pupils a truly lasting and sound knowledge on a secondary school level, a broad polytechnical outlook, a knowledge of the fundamentals of industrial and agricultural production, good labor training, physical hardening and a thorough spiritual development."

The response to Khrushchev's proposal was immediate. With the hope that the new boarding-schools would become the basic form of general secondary and polytechnical education, the first of these *internats* opened their doors in September, 1956. Yet as with most undertakings in the Soviet Union, the establishment of the boarding-schools encountered many frustrations.

Money was slow in being provided by a number of Soviet and Party agencies. The director of the Party Central Committee's Department of Science, Schools, and Culture for the Russian Republic, N. Kazmin, stated in October, 1958, that the economic councils had taken an incorrect position toward the construction of boarding-schools. And many of the new schools lacked material facilities, such as laboratories, study-rooms, and, in the rural areas, subsidiary farms.

bureaucracy intervened

Since the various ministries were responsible for specific spheres of boarding-school life, the problems of Soviet bureaucracy intervened. The Ministry of Public Health provided medical personnel; the Ministry of Trade and Russian Consumers' Co-operatives, the food; the Ministry of Local Industry had to produce 32,500 metal beds for use during the first year; and the Ministry of Agriculture and State Farms would have to supply seed, fertilizer, poultry and livestock for the boarding-school farms.

Nonetheless, since the boarding-schools remained among the foremost projects of Khrushchev, and since, speaking before the Twenty-first Party Congress, he once again affirmed his interest

in them, Soviet official efforts continued toward their development. "In the future," commented Khrushchev, "it is planned to provide the possibility of raising all children in boarding-schools, which will facilitate the solution of the tasks of Communist rearing of the growing generation and of drawing fresh millions of women into the ranks of active builders of Communist society."

The Party and Government Theses of 1958 called upon the boarding-schools "to set a genuinely skillful example of combining education and work production." To this end, the boarding-school follows the curriculum and programs of the eight-year and secondary labor polytechnical schools, which provide production training. The boarding-schools provide either eight or eleven grades, depending upon local conditions. As the curriculum shows, the schools offer the expected academic complement; it is the system of production training which demands closer investigation.

productive labor

Addressing the Thirteenth Congress of the Young Communist League, Khrushchev pointedly attacked "such defects in our schools as laxity in training the children to respect physical labor." As a result, the pedagogical staffs of the boarding-schools increased their efforts to use productive labor for the formation of the collective body and personality of the students, and to implant in them a love and respect for labor.

Several examples will illustrate these efforts. At the *Gigant* Boarding-school #2, of the Salsk district, training for labor was accomplished in the process of teaching the foundations of science. The students conducted measuring, graphic and laboratory exercises, as well as worked in the school's shops. The staff paid special attention to the formation of the students' ability to apply their knowledge in practice. In addition to production trips, on which students became acquainted with socialist organization of labor and met some of the foremost workers, assignments, distributed among students, directly involved them in labor. Twenty-four students took care of the school's livestock, fifty-eight had jobs in the

various craftshops, where they engaged in sewing, shoemaking, carpentry, fitting, and turning, and ten were assigned to attendant duty in the dining-rooms. Eight others worked around the dormitory.

Even the very youngest children were not exempt from some type of "self-servicing work," and by making the work gradually more complicated, the staff assured that the essential abilities and skills of everyday household duties were implanted in the students.

This same school formed an apprentice "production brigade," which provided a carefully thought out indoctrination in socially productive labor. In order to assure the quality and the quantity of work, the staff published a chart of the daily work by the various brigades, and the students were soon caught up in a frenzy of competition. Other forms of encouragement stimulated work: on the day off from work, a car or rowboat and fishing tackle might be available to the best brigade; a student's parents might receive a certificate of socialist achievement, along with the school's congratulations, if their child worked in the best brigade; and some students even received material recognition in the form of gifts.

At Boarding-school #10 in Moscow, the staff provided a general acquaintance with large-scale machine-building, with engineering, technology and the organization of production. Further, the students became involved in the work of a shop of skilled men through an agreement between this school and a local factory. Participating with the factory's workers in the fulfillment of the stated production plan, the students received guidance from skilled workers and foremen and, by alternating morning and evening shifts, on a weekly basis, they retained contact with the same collective body of workers throughout the entire period of production practice. In addition to their academic studies, the students worked six hours each day in the factory. In order to have the students become familiar with a broad range of operations, they were shifted from one aspect of production to another as soon as the operation had been mastered. The result of this was that during the period of labor training each student became adept at four to eight sets of operations performed on the assembly line. An

interesting sidelight to this arrangement is that, because of the additional labor force, the factory daily overfilled its production norm, and shop managers, when arranging for workers, began to consider the labor potential of the pupils as well.

The Leningrad Boarding-school #2 was under the patronage of the Skorokhod Shoe Factory. The students began regular production in the school factory, "Little Skorokhod." Thereby they not only engaged in practical work, but "mastered the primary rule of life — only he has the right to an interesting and full-value life who works together with all, doesn't need a nurse, takes care of himself, and labors for society." In this factory, the children made shoe boxes; the older children performed the more difficult tasks, while the first-graders were responsible for the less demanding operations. The work was conducted, once again, through a brigade organization, children of various ages belonging to the same brigade. This has the advantage of permitting the older students to assist the younger ones, becoming, in effect, themselves "guardians." Such productive labor easily becomes a powerful educational means of bringing students into contact with the life and labor of the Soviet people and of underlining the social significance of that labor.

favorable observations

In reviewing the first two years of the boarding-schools, N. Kazmin made the following favorable observations:

The boarding-schools are called upon to become model "preconditioning" institutions that will fully accomplish the tasks of rounded and harmonious development of the younger generation. In them it is possible most successfully to combine instruction in the fundamentals of knowledge with production work within the capacity of the young people and to inculcate a love for socially useful labor, above all, of manual labor that creates material values. . . . Success can be noted in achieving this aim thus far. . . . Love of work is now a distinguishing trait of the boarding-school students. Most of the children are used to seeing to their

own everyday needs. Their appearance has changed in many ways. They have become more polite and considerate with respect to each other and their teachers, counselors, and parents. The first results of the boarding-schools show that these schools justify the purpose set for them by the decisions of the Twentieth Party Congress.

Within the Soviet boarding-school, the guardian (*vospitat'el*) plays the critical role. His responsibilities include the organization of work and the after-hours leisure time, as well as teaching the requirements of socialist, communal living and manners. These guardians must have a firm grasp of general child and pedagogic psychology and be as firmly grounded in their special field as the academic teachers are in theirs. Special courses have been developed at the various pedagogical institutes in order to bring their students closer to the demands of the boarding-school. In these special courses future guardians study aesthetics, psychology, child anatomy and physiology, as well as the foundation of Communist ethics. In recent years there has been a greater emphasis upon establishing a closer link between the pedagogical institutes and the boarding-schools themselves.

strict daily routine

One of the first obligations of the staff of a boarding-school is to set up a strict daily routine. Every minute of the day must be accounted for and must be put to good use. The day usually begins at six o'clock, with setting-up exercises followed by tea. From seven o'clock to seven-forty-five the students may brush up on the lessons for that day, and the first class begins at eight. Lessons are forty-five minutes long, one following immediately upon another. At nine-forty-five, the children have breakfast and a long recess until eleven. The third, fourth and fifth class periods come between eleven and one-forty, and these are followed by a fifty-minute period of sports, work or social work. Dinner at two-thirty concludes with a long walk. The sixth lesson of the day begins at four o'clock, and a light snack comes between it and the last class,

at five. From five-forty-five until supper at eight o'clock, the students engage in more work, and at nine o'clock, after the inevitable walk, they go to bed.

While this schedule may vary slightly from school to school, it nevertheless illustrates how comprehensive is the control and the regimentation of life within the boarding-school. One thinks automatically of a passage in Eugene Zamyatin's *We*, that perspicacious projection into the Soviet future, in which the author states that "united into a single body with a million hands, at the very same second, designated by the Tables, we carry the spoons to our mouths; at the same second we all go out to walk, go to the auditorium, to the halls for the exercises, and then to bed." The routine of the *shkola-internat* is but another manifestation of the desire of the Soviet system to gain and to maintain total control of the total man, thereby precluding any deviation resulting from unrestrained individualism.

older children assist

In addition to the work of the guardians, that of the older children is important. They assist the younger ones in learning and performing the early "self-service" tasks, and they also take over certain duties when the guardians go home after "lights out." The Academy of Pedagogical Sciences recommended that a student council be elected in the boarding-schools, elected by open vote of the students, to facilitate the decision of current questions of student life and to maintain a certain self-imposed discipline. If the student council feels that a particular student is not meeting his obligations to the community or is not abiding by the rules of the school, it can "reprove, censure, reprimand, deny the right to participate in commercial projects, and issue strict warnings." Of course, the Komsomol (Young Communist League) plays a leading role within each boarding-school, seeing to it that its most active, conscientious and disciplined members are elected to the council and exercise general supervision of its work. Under the leadership of this council function the various primary groups of

students, organized on the basis of grades, residence in the dormitories, sport sections and so forth. These smaller groups elect monitors and brigade leaders and determine their duties and rights. These students, in turn, form a permanent *aktiv*, which works hand in hand with the student council. Indeed, the entire life of the Soviet boarding-school is a reflection of the educational philosophy of A. S. Makarenko: "Make greater demands of a child and give him greater respect."

The guardians also assist the classroom teachers, not only by helping the children in the preparation of their homework, but also by checking the quality of that work. At the beginning of the homework session, the guardian sees to it that there is order in the study-hall. As each child finishes his work, the guardian checks it and gives it a mark. At the end of the study period, the guardian arranges the students' notebooks according to the marks and leaves them on the teacher's desk. The next day the teacher, by looking at the results of the homework, knows how to begin the lesson and with which students it is necessary to work on reviewing the assignment. This is an important time-saving device, for there are usually thirty students in a class.

parents' responsibility

It is the responsibility of the parents to aid in the work of the boarding-school and to carry on in the traditions and the ideals of the school during the time that the children are at home. The schools form a Parents' Committee, which works closely with the staff of the teachers' soviet. Therefore, it is incorrect to assume that the Soviet boarding-school aims at the destruction of the Soviet family. Granted, there are certain deleterious influences within the family which are not in the best interests of the Soviet future, and many parents are still unable to devote the proper amount of time to the sociopolitical preconditioning of their children. To compensate for this, the boarding-schools provide careful and constant training. And while the parents are working with the pedagogical

staff, they themselves come under the influence of the highly trained and motivated teachers and guardians. In this way, parents receive a somewhat second-hand education and reorientation in Communist ideals.

Since the first boarding-schools opened their doors in 1956, one has become increasingly aware of a not too subtle tug-of-war between official encouragement of expansion of this type of school and public indifference to them. Criticism in the Soviet press and on the Soviet street and figures contained in various official reports lead one to recognize a lack of enthusiasm for the boarding-school. Recently, there has been a move to reorganize the existing children's homes into quasi-boarding-schools or into "extended day" schools.

In spite of public reluctance, the push to develop the *internat* continues. Without sufficient planning, however, the development has not been in accord with the government's wishes.

Articles criticizing various shortcomings of the boarding-schools appear more and more frequently. Because of deficient pedagogical methods, much of the children's learning is being transferred from the classroom to the so-called "self-training" hours, with the result that the students are overloaded with homework. Soviet educational theory cannot relinquish the idea that the only way to get good results in learning is to load the students with huge programs which include innumerable themes and keep their noses in their books for as many hours as possible.

We know from our experience that the main short-comings and difficulties we have to deal with come precisely from the fact that the methods in use in the ordinary schools are mechanically carried over to the boarding-schools. We are not taking advantage of the opportunities the specific set-up of the boarding-schools offers. . . . It must be made clear to all, including the Ministry of Education of the RSFSR, that the boarding-school is an altogether new type of educational establishment which will not really be new at all unless it finds new educational methods as a basis for new curricular plans.

Socialist competition in socially useful work and in mass cultural and sports activities seems all right to many Soviet parents, but

they observe that the same competition in school work leads only to "percentomania." Another shortcoming in the boarding-schools is that some of them have a schedule which leaves the students hardly any free time. Many feel that the boarding-schools are producing students who know nothing but regimentation. "Children should be given a chance to be alone, to do some thinking or simply to feel homesick. Many a child of twelve or fourteen writes poetry. Such a future Mayakovsky needs to get off by himself, so that the muse may visit him. But here, unless the muse is willing to stand in ranks, she will not have access to the child."

Many of these criticisms are more or less professional, and were they the only ones, the outlook for the Soviet boarding-school would be considerably brighter. But within the past few years there have been rumblings of public dissatisfaction and even instances of students withdrawing from the schools.

critical shortage

In the Soviet Union there is a critical shortage of adequate school facilities. It costs well over seven hundred thousand rubles to construct one boarding-school. For this amount, it is possible to build an ordinary school accommodating many more students.

In an article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, one observer openly attacked the whole theory of the boarding-schools.

Of course, it is only fair that the boarding-schools are filled with children from families having difficulties. The State is doing an enormous and noble task in taking care of these children. But let us not talk ourselves into believing that these are the only schools of the future. I think that in the future the majority of children will continue to live at home and will go to school only to study. . . . The higher our families' moral principles rise, the sooner the negative blemishes found in some homes will disappear and the simpler the job of universal compulsory education will become.

And thus, the conflict. The Party and the Ministry of Education see the *shkola-internat* as the prototype of the Soviet school of the future, for in such institutions which combine successfully aca-

democratic and sociopolitical training, the new Soviet man, disciplined, loyal, respectful of socially useful labor and well grounded in Communist idealism, will be educated. Indeed, the first graduates of these model schools have already entered Soviet society and, according to the press, "everywhere they are spoken of as industrious, conscientious young people." And yet, there is both indifference and antagonism on the part of the Soviet populace toward the system of the boarding-schools.

The primary purpose of the boarding-schools is to insure the formation of a new Communist person with traits, habits and ethics in harmony with the regime. At the same time, this system would allow more women to enter the ranks of industry by relieving them of maternal duties. But priority of admission has been established which gives preference to orphans, children of unwed mothers, and those from large families whose financial situation is strained.

However, inadequate study and recreational facilities, the improper balance between academic and labor obligations and the high cost per student have brought forth sharp criticisms from the public. But while one can understand why the government might want the boarding-school system to be the ideal of Soviet education, there is little likelihood that this will happen. The State seeks total control of the total man, and the earlier this control takes effect, the less danger there is from disaffection and discontent. If the delicate balance could be maintained between the control necessary for predictable response to the Communist stimuli and the independence necessary for creativity in all possible fields, and if the future generation could be fashioned to suit the aims and ethics of the Party with no outside coercion, then, indeed, the Soviet boarding-school would stand as an impressive educational system and the hatching place of the ideal Soviet citizen.

But in twenty years this has not happened. The boarding-schools have not replaced the regular eight- or eleven-year school. There is little interest today in the system of boarding-schools, in spite of the government's recognition of the need "to organize the upbringing of children in immeasurably better fashion."



ANONYMOUS

A Russian Student's Account

The following is an article written by Roman Gershkovich, as translated from the Russian by Donald Goodyear.

Five years have passed since I finished school #101, in Odessa, in the Soviet Union. Recalling those learning years in a Soviet school, I have written a short sketch which, I hope, will be not without interest to American students.

The Educational Program

Soviet children begin attending school at seven years of age, and in the course of ten years their school becomes a second home to them.

The educational program in Soviet schools is filled with a great number of lessons. In the course of ten years' stay in school, the Soviet student must study twenty-eight subjects. In addition to the general education courses, there are courses of labor and political education.

For example, in lessons under the name of "Work," students become proficient in metal work, lathe-work and joiner's work. Each school has a workshop where the students engage in the mastery of work-skills. Also, students serve an apprenticeship in factories and mills, where they are given the opportunity to obtain labor qualifications.

If the Soviet student particularly wants to get a mark in "Military Science," he learns to handle firearms, the organization of the Soviet Army, parade drill and anti-thermo defense. This is done under the direction of a qualified officer of the Soviet Army.

Three Political Stages in the Soviet School

In Soviet schools there are three political levels: 1) that of the Octobrists, 2) that of the Pioneers, and 3) the Komsomol.

1) After the first four-month stay in school, the young students of the first grade enter the Octobrist organization. In a solemn line

the children receive the red stars with the picture of Lenin on them. The Octobrists give their solemn oath, by which they promise to study well and be worthy of the rank of an "Octobrist."

2) In 1921 there was organized the All-Union Organization of Pioneers, named after Lenin. Since then for the students of the third to the fifth grades comes the traditional entrance into the Pioneers. In front of a full assembly of the students of the school, the oaths are read and the students of the higher classes present to the young Pioneers their red kerchiefs. For the students there begins a new stage of their school life.

3) By the completion of the Pioneer age (at fifteen), 75% of the students enter the All-Union Leninist Communist Union of Youth (VLKSM). The aim of the Komsomol is to cultivate a suitable cadre for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSS).

The Arrangement of Extra-curricular Activities in Soviet Schools

Life outside of school is, for Soviet students, filled with organized activities. In the schools they conduct various activities and competitions, for example: public-speaking contests, and contests for revolutionary songs.

Twice a year there occur all-Union collections of scrap-metal and waste-paper. This collected material, the scrap-metal and the waste-paper, goes to reprocessing in factories and mills of the Soviet Union.

In Spring and in Fall Soviet students work in the fields of the collective farms, where the students help the farmers in their heavy work.

Recently, in the Soviet Union, they have introduced "military-patriotic" games under the name of "Summer Lightning." This game involves the students of the sixth to the tenth grade. In conditions that approximate war, the students study the tactics of conducting battle, the running of an obstacle course, troop landing, and various means of defense and self-defense necessary in time of war. The best detachments meet in large all-Union games, and the boys are very proud of their "war deeds."

The Teaching Staff and the Political Organizers

The teaching staff in a Soviet school is insignificantly different from the staff of a school in Western Europe or in America. But in addition to the teachers, a large and highly responsible role is played by the political organizers, in whose ranks are the secretary of the Party organization, the secretary of the Konsomol and Young Pioneer leaders. The more lofty work of those people consists of the political and patriotic education of Soviet school children, but the secretary of the Party organization also follows closely the political hardiness of the teaching staff. Their special work is to report to the regional committees of the Communist Party and the Konsomol.

Also, each grade has its own director of teacher and classroom, the task of whom is to check the students' attendance and progress, but they also see to the carrying out and conduct of political information. After every quarter, the class director calls together a parents' meeting, at which they discuss the success and even the failure of the students and also various means necessary for the improvement of the students' progress and the uplifting of their patriotic spirit.

The Role of Soviet Literature in the Development of Soviet Students

Perhaps we should point out the immense role played by Soviet literature in the political-patriotic development of Soviet students. Not long before the beginning of the Second World War, there opened in Russian literature a new literary development to which Stalin gave the complicated name of "socialist realism." In the compositions of Soviet writers the literary quality became of secondary importance. The education of young people in the Communist spirit stands as the primary goal. The students try to stick to the ideals of an irreproachable Soviet citizen and Communist. The books of such authors as Sholokov, Turmanov, Gladkov fill up the shelves of the school libraries in the Soviet Union, just as the great Russian writers opposed to the so-called "socialist realism" are forgotten in the average program of Soviet schools.

Conclusion

The most important goal of the Soviet schools is the cultivation of a "good" citizen, one who values the interests of the socialist community higher than his own interests, one who follows the Communist Party rather than personal and circumstantial goals, and that without hesitation.

HARRY WHITNEY

1932. I am the boy.
Harry is the second pair of hands
locked over mine. In three long sweeps

we plane the board's
rough edge marble-smooth. I feel
the work go through the tool for the

first time. Kneeling
at Harry's feet, I pick up
the white curls we peeled off and ask:

how did the straight
blade do this? For answer Harry
spreads them flat. In Harry's 6th Grade

woodwork class nobody
giggles. Each boy carves his lump
for better or worse. Soft-spoken Harry,

flecked with creosote,
smiles on my book-ends. For
Christmas I get a chisel from Harry. I

nuzzle this cold beauty.
She is silvery blue with a chest-
nut neck. I am in love and singled out.

ALLAN BLOCK



CLARISSE ROBERTS

The Red and the Black

Polarization in Italian Schools

MARCO FIGUS

From the time that I first went to school in Rome, in 1961, much has changed in the school system: not only do parents send their sons and daughters to school very early so that they will learn more quickly how to read and write, but also the whole teaching system has improved, since the teachers are more prepared to teach facts that can be very helpful in today's modern world. Furthermore, the increased dialogue between the teacher and the student, that I deem fundamental in education, has made possible an open and more productive attitude toward the school.

I think that this change is due not only to the natural evolution of the teaching system, but also and specially to the fact that the world outside the school has assumed another aspect: at the social, economic and political level a development without precedent has occurred in the last decade.

Also there has been a change in the structure. The first eight years of school have always been compulsory; in addition there are the optional five years of high school, scientific or classic, according to the field of study that one decides to follow after the eighth grade exam. But after the student revolution in 1968, one could reach college from any high school without examination, provided that he paid a \$40 fee.

However, here is the real paradox: although the whole system of equality of education was instituted to give a greater opportunity to study and to get a good job, it didn't turn out quite that way. A result of this is that the entire scholastic institution is on the brink of a precipice. Why is this?

Back before the revolution of 1968, all students had a straight line to follow throughout their life; that is, they were scheduled to start out with kindergarten, go on to primary and to secondary school, graduate from a University and get a good job. But this opportunity was only for the very few fortunate families who could keep their sons and daughters in school for the required time without sending them to work. There was undoubtedly a need for change, which grew until it burst in the student revolution. After equality was accomplished, everyone thought that Italy had a great future before it, with the prospect of many well-educated young people; but it was not that simple.

army of unemployed

The unbelievable number of students that started to pour out of all kinds of schools filled up every space available, till the whole working market was saturated. As it is now, the professional prospects for the student are not bright, because the number of graduates that can't seem to find a job is on the increase and the factories, that only a short time ago used to employ people with the right degree for the job, now cannot do so any more. For example, the most refined electronic system of Italy, the Italsider in Genova, is coordinated by a philosopher, and a team of accountants and lawyers work on it. In other words, the boy or girl who walks out from high school or college finds himself or herself confronted by the threat of intellectual unemployment. His first sight is a boundless army of unemployed in which the young people fill most of the ranks — a real academic proletarian class.

What causes all this decay? It's hard to give an impartial answer, but, as I mentioned before, some fault has to be given to the student revolution in 1968. It's true that a change was necessary, nobody can deny it, but maybe it came in a too drastic way. In fact, although everyone was waiting for this equality of education, nobody thought that there would have been such a mass of people looking for jobs who could not be absorbed by society.

It's natural then that the students, once brought on the road of unemployment, should start to become involved in politics, in which they saw the answer to all of their social, political and primarily economic problems. However, all of a sudden, many problems that before were a concern only of the politicians entered the school world and ruined the equilibrium that had existed before.

This equilibrium does not seem to have been disturbed in the American colleges, in spite of the fact that they continue to be, at least to my eyes, gold prisons. In fact, college is the reflection of the American mentality, which places more importance on pure education than on experience of life, so that the American students are not involved, or at least do not seem to be involved, with outside life. Thus they live happily in a golden world, where everything, or almost everything, is all ready for them.

Although I am convinced that a student has the right to be informed and involved in economics and politics, I do not approve of the point we have reached now in Italy. As things are at present, politics at the student level has become the cover for violence. Not a day passes that you do not read in the newspapers that a boy of one faction has been attacked by seditious people of the other faction, and so on. I use the term "seditious people of the other faction" because in Italian schools there are only two factions: the fascist, better known as "black," and the communist, better known as "red."

To the American reader it would seem absurd to think that only the extreme wings of the parties exist in education, but this is true. If a student enters, for example, the Christian Democrat party, certainly he will not have many friends, if any at all, and will be isolated. But another important consideration has to be made: the student that joins his friends in a party follows an imaginary ladder. I'll try to explain myself: the student starts to dabble in active politics, on one or on the other side, around the tenth grade, the year right after the one in which he has passed the shock of going from the protection of the lower grades to the involvement of the higher grades and starts to defend the school from the attacks of the students of the opposite side. Yes, attacks,

because real battles occur with shooting and throwing of stones and of molotov cocktails, not to count the various charges made by the police, who use rifles, tear gas and very strong clubs to try to subdue the brawls.

In other words, the main gate of practically every high school in Rome becomes a real battlefield. A further explanation for these scuffles is that there are some schools which are known to be filled up with “red” students and others with “black” students, so that both sides try to destroy the other one.

But the shocking thing is that right from these battlefields many boys start up the ladder that I mentioned before: they register in what they consider the party to follow, to go on to beat up people not only in their own district but everywhere there are some opponent dens. It is a very small step, then, from the student who innocently fights for the safety of his school to the one who becomes a boy who cudgels and kills people: those are exactly the people that the parties use to “punish” the opponents.

It almost could seem a ridiculous thing for someone who did not live these events day after day, but it’s not funny at all. The parties definitely intrude on the scholastic system by using the young Italians worse than they had been used before the 1968 revolution: they are now only instruments in the hands of a very few people, who use them at their complete will. These leaders do not have anything else to do except to announce a strike or a manifestation. Right away fifty thousand students will gather together in Esedra Square, one of the most famous squares, along with Venezia Square, for these gatherings, and from there leave to create disorder around the capital.

As we know, the masses are hard to stop, because everyone feels much stronger when he is in a group, so that the authorities let them do anything they want, until everything returns to normal — a state that will not last long, because a manifestation of the opposite side will be announced soon after to oppose the first one, so that the story never ends.

But at this point another fact has to be noted: if before 1968 the student never carried any weight in any political or social issue

— largely the result of the pressure imposed on them by the teachers and similar agents of subjugation — now everything starts from the student's will to take an active part in social life. It would be a mistake to think that the parties force the students to join them and to create disorder: as I said, it is all up to the student's will.

And it is the same student's will not to follow any middle party, such as the Christian Democrats. In fact, although a minority of students fling themselves towards the extremities only to follow their friends, the majority of them are fully aware of what they are doing. Unfortunately, many of these students believe that the only way to try to resolve the many problems that Italy has right now is to use violence, not understanding that it is exactly with violence that things get worse.

Moreover, all the time that these students are spending in gyms, where they learn how to beat up people, or in party divisions, where they prepare new action plans, is to their disadvantage, because they are losing the concentration that academic courses demand. Subjects such as Greek, Latin and philosophy must be followed very carefully; therefore much work is needed.

tighten the strings

What can be said at this point? I think that a way to save this situation is to give to the students a little liberty to say what they think — after all they will be the ones that will be in the government in a couple of years — but at the same time to try to tighten up the strings a little, so that the students do not waste all their time in political disquisitions. In this way they could have not only the experience of everyday life but also a solid base on which to build a brilliant future.

Naturally it is easy to say and hard to act: no one wants to get involved and therefore gives the duty to someone else. This statement is exemplified by the fact that hundreds of people are leaving Italy, abandoning it to its destiny. Many, maybe too many, people have lost faith in the Italian economic, political and social system, and do not want to be part any more of a dying body. It should

be the concern of the young people, then, to try to lift the nation up again, but if so much time is lost in futile political disquisitions and in useless violence, the goal that I want to suppose every true Italian has, that of an Italy more stable and more mature, will never be reached.

QUATRINA

Here I am, the incompetent (poet)
Trying to teach the uninterested (kids)
How to write the useless (poem)
In the impossible (school).

I have smoked in the boiler-room of every school
In Omaha, wondering when I get to be a poet,
Far from these ubiquitous kids,
And write an obscene poem.

But who am I to say my poem
Would be any better than the stuff turned out in school?
Who is a poet
Anyway? Me? The kids?

Who knows what kids
Are? Who knows what a poem
Is? Suddenly I don't care. This school
Has got to let go of this poet.

Ah, to be a poet with all the kids
And write a great poem and never see another lousy school.

PATRICK WORTH GRAY

School and Nation

A Personal Evaluation of Education's Contribution to National Character

SUSAN CHIRA

A personal identification with a country develops slowly and intangibly; I can view the product much more easily than the process. A protracted encounter with another culture first triggered my awareness of a national affiliation; because others questioned what I had so long taken for granted, I was forced to examine my reasons for espousing a certain value system. As a result of this introspection, I grew to appreciate the crucial role that education plays in the development of a sense of nationality. The educational system has widespread and prolonged control over the "hearts and minds" of the most impressionable segment of the population. During their years in school, children absorb many views which they will incorporate unconsciously into their own thinking. I believe that the word "unconscious" is a critical one in discussing the concept of nationality, a concept often confused with patriotism. Nationality differs from patriotism precisely because of its unconscious nature; patriotism implies a fierce sense of partisanship, while nationality connotes a subtle and binding sense of familiarity with an inherent set of values. Many people condemn patriotism as a narrow-minded, parochial defensiveness, but most people develop an instinctive sense of identification with a country which remains unrecognized until challenged by confrontation with another culture. This sense of allegiance is shaped most strongly by the inherent rather than the exterior values of a country's institutions. In other words, the structure of an institution is far more important than

any chauvinistic standards it professes to instill. Throughout this article, I will try to examine the effect of the institution of education on the development of my sense of nationality. By contrasting the British and the American systems of education as I viewed them, I hope to demonstrate the importance of different educational structures in forming different national characters.

Elementary school, the first hurdle of the educational system for me, ostensibly emphasized the trappings of chauvinism. Apparently the school viewed this initial exposure to organized learning as a unique opportunity to inculcate patriotism. Every day began with the salute to the flag; we mumbled our litany "I-pledge-allegiance-to-the-flag" and struggled gamely through the "Star Spangled Banner." The words we memorized so quickly and rattled off so glibly meant nothing to us; for years I wondered why the republic was invisible. Primary readers showed apple-cheeked, blond, well-dressed, all-American boy and girl running hand in hand to their conventional yet comfortable suburban home, where Daddy, Mommy and assorted menagerie welcomed them. History texts extolled America's world superiority, displaying touching and vivid pictures of emaciated Indians fed by ruddy American volunteers. Geography lessons detailed America's rich and inexhaustible resources: "Now in the Plains States, we grow the food which feeds all the world." In art classes we drew ships to commemorate Columbus Day, while in music class the first songs we learned were "America the Beautiful" and "In fourteen hundred and ninety-two. . . ."

At the time, this propaganda did little to influence me. I preferred as I grew older to listen to news reports, presidential campaigns or student activists to gain a more objective concept of the United States. I thought of myself as a thoughtful, critical observer, not (heaven forbid) a patriot. My first glimmering that I had succumbed to this insidious concept of nationality came on a trip outside of the United States to see a friend in London. Through conversations with her, I began to visualize the idea of an American national character, molded in some mysterious way by institutions whose validity Americans seldom question.

It was after this first perception of a different culture that I realized that elementary school's contribution to the development of nationality lay not in its simplistic propaganda but in the intrinsic value of the schooling system in America. Elementary school launches the formation of a uniquely American viewpoint. This viewpoint is nurtured not by Columbus Day lectures but by the encouragement of the qualities Americans may respect in Columbus — ambition, courage, independence, a sense of wonder coupled with perseverance. Class emphasis on debate and discussion and teacher praise of initiative and imagination comprise a set of values more firmly rooted and less consciously accepted than moralistic or patriotic dicta.

conclusions reinforced

These conclusions were reinforced by an extended trip I took to England as part of a drama exchange with two English schools, one a day grammar school and one a boarding school. Both schools were public in the English sense, maintained partially by government grants but to a large extent private and selective. Through contact with the students I met in these schools and with the families in whose homes I stayed, I found myself ceaselessly evaluating English and American institutions.

I discovered that our common language masked grave differences in our culture, tradition and world view. My first impression of English schools was monochromatic — I confronted rows of boys in gray blazers. The students in our group, male and female, dressed in every shade and style, stood out in sharp relief against the mass of gray. Because most schools in England are single-sex institutions and because most require uniforms, all the students seemed orderly and identical. Immediately I recalled the glaring, if self-conscious, diversity which characterized the students I knew at school. The identical façade of the students in England suggested to me an education and culture which placed less emphasis on individuality or independence and more on deference and formality, impressions subsequently confirmed in classes and experience

with the daily routine. I found that the English daily routine begins with a religious assembly; the separation of church and state so central to American tradition does not exist in England. At the root of their education lie the concepts of the Church of England; in fact, most of the great schools of England were founded by the Church. Many of the heads of these schools are closely associated with the Church; one school we visited had as its head a bishop of the Church. These leaders consider it their duty to instill moral concepts as an integral part of education, and they do so far less subtly than do their American counterparts. Thus on the first morning of school, our conspicuously American group was herded into assembly. We filed into a large church-like room complete with altar, organ and pews. From our vantage point we observed the rows of boys led into their assigned places by the senior prefects, older boys who through superior academic performance and model behavior had earned the right to regulate and discipline their peers. We were astonished at the docility and sincere respect accorded these prefects; American student leaders in my experience are rather the butt of cynicism or indifference. When the students were seated, the masters of the school marched in, resplendent in cap and gown, while the entire student body rose. After prayers were said and hymns sung, a master addressed the community on a selected topic with a rather pointed moral. On this day, the master cracked a dry joke concerning the presence of the Americans, and the students, breaking ranks, laughed and applauded. Immediately the High Master, the head of the school, sternly reprimanded the students for applauding during a religious service. The students were immediately sobered, and I felt rather chilled at such unquestioning obedience. At another school, nightly chapel was held, followed by a short discussion of religious issues. One of our group, after listening for a few minutes, declared himself to be an atheist and branded the discussion as irrelevant to education. There was a moment's rather shocked silence, after which the chaplain and students began an animated discussion of the pros and cons of religious education. My reaction to this aspect of British education was a distrust of such dictatorial and dogmatic spoon-

feeding. My English friends, after visiting American schools, informed me that they felt American education lacked a moral base and that Americans in general had no high moral goals. They saw Americans as a people living without a moral precept to guide their lives. They accepted their rigid discipline as a moral and intellectual tool and criticized Americans for not recognizing its value. In this case, as in other schools we visited, the students and teacher were willing to discuss differences of opinion but seldom raised the questions themselves. I began to perceive two views of education dictated by traditions and institutions alien to one another.

little intellectual initiative

My impressions grew into convictions after I discovered more about the British schooling system. I found that this disinclination to question the status quo was reinforced by the structure and organization of British education. The British secondary school education is geared toward three nationwide examinations known as the A levels. The English student specializes early in three subjects and covers them in much greater depth than do American students. The two years before university entrance are devoted to the preparation, through strict adherence to a prescribed syllabus, for these exams. University entrance depends upon the scores of these exams and on the student's general academic performance; extra-curricular activities, such a determining factor in American college admissions, play no role in British admissions. I felt this rigidity to be limiting; it allowed for little intellectual initiative on the part of student or teacher, but the British defended their system. They decried superficial American coverage of subjects; they preferred to relinquish breadth for depth.

Another national difference I uncovered was present in the focus and tone of the classes themselves. Their scope seemed narrower, the discussion and lecture more tightly organized, carefully directed if not dictated. As in the discussion over religious issues in the chapel, the students as a whole took less initiative. When called on, their answers were, on the average, more articulate than

I had heard in American schools, but less creative. The responses were dry and analytical, logical and precise, but less original or daring. Few students played devil's advocate.

In this atmosphere of tolerant *laissez-faire*, our group of inquisitive and argumentative adolescents proved to be a vaguely disturbing element. In one class we attended at a girls' school, we inadvertently sparked a small rebellion. A few chance comments on the differences between American and English schooling inspired discussion on some of the grievances the students felt against school policy. The bewildered instructor parried comments with "Oh, really? I had no idea you felt like that."

single-sex institutions

Our visit to the girls' school highlighted yet another difference between the American and the British schooling systems, the dominance of single-sex institutions in British education. In the one girls' school we visited, the focus and tone of the classes was shockingly inferior to the corresponding boys' school. The girls' classes we visited were conducted on a much lower intellectual plane and were geared subtly toward the traditional "womanly" approach to a subject — more emphasis on the social aspects of history than on the economic aspects. The A level course in history, French and English were consistently larger than the courses in science or mathematics. In my opinion, this separation of boys and girls and the differing emphases of their education hampered their social relationships. To many of the students in our group, British adolescent relationships seemed considerably more structured; there was a fairly rigid adherence to traditional male and female roles. The male was decidedly the leader, an attitude perhaps encouraged by both a more rigorous education and the unconscious arrogance supplied by a comparison of his and any other girl's education. The British we talked to, however, found our attitude unrealistic. They accepted the separation of boy and girl as traditional and, as a result of their observations of Americans, labelled American social

life strained, puritanical and even hypocritical. The British, they claimed, recognized openly the difficulties of drinking or sexual promiscuity and addressed their caveats directly to them. The British were decidedly more liberal about drinking, with the result that while we saw more open drinking at younger ages, we saw less rebellious drunkenness. We also saw a much more social emphasis on drinking illustrated by the cozy, low-key atmosphere of the pubs. "Permissive" Americans, the British insisted, were actually more repressive by endeavoring to "understand" drinking or promiscuity while fearing it much more than did the British.

These differences of opinion and practice caused much debate between our two student groups. The discussions emphasized repeatedly our different cultures and world views. Slowly, I began to define distinct national characters, shaped by participation in institutions unique to each country. My conception of an American national character and values developed; I saw my compatriots as individuals, encouraged to cultivate independent judgment and to seek creativity and originality to a much greater degree than the British. I noticed an American love for diversity and for the argument, challenge and reform which result from these confrontations. Americans embodied informality, ambition, restlessness and curiosity. In turn, I saw us through British eyes as a bit gratingly enthusiastic, untamed and unrestrained, lacking the centuries of disciplining tradition and history. The adjective most often applied by the English to describe Americans was "generous": generous, the English implied, as a child is generous, delightedly showering gifts and warmth but hurt if the recipient criticized the giver's other behavior. In fact, the English evaluation of the American character can be summed up in the word "child," in accordance with the short span of our country's years. Americans are childlike in their disarming innocence and naïveté, in their disillusionment at wrongdoing like Watergate (even today the English wonder why Watergate was such a national trauma) and in their youthful exuberance and vitality.

All this I sensed, but it was not until we encountered a very few evidences of direct hostility that I realized that I subscribed to the

American values and that, horrors of horrors to a professional liberal like me, I was ready and willing to defend my system to the point of partisanship. When we as a group faced direct hostility, when someone cried, "Go home, Yanks," we all had to restrain ourselves from becoming too defensive. All of us were reluctant patriots, but we found that we instinctively defended our familiar institutions; their implicit values had become ours.

Thus from extended and intense contact with a different culture, I grew to recognize my inescapable affiliation with my own culture. I viewed these cultural differences chiefly through a comparison of two educational systems. Education is, I believe, an excellent point from which to evaluate the growth of nationality because it is such a powerful and a national system — powerful because universally accepted and national because fairly uniform throughout one country. The small details of routine and organization which distinguish the systems actually play a critical role in the formation of a national character. Each procedure cultivates certain traits which color the thought process and the behavior of the individual. Because these different systems contain different priorities and reward different attributes, they elicit different responses and behavior. Through this process, nationality emerges, slowly and unconsciously, yet all the more powerfully because of its subtlety. Patriotism can be rejected as an idea imposed on an individual, but nationality cannot because it becomes a part of the individual's self-definition. The unconscious and ingratiating nature of nationality guarantees its durability; education's most valuable contribution to the development of nationality lies in continued adherence to the fundamental and implicit values of its schooling system.



LAURA BROADDUS

Education in Germany

The Particular and the Universal

OTTO HEINRICH VEHRENKAMP

Until recently, looking for national components in German education would have seemed a futile undertaking to me. The urgent tasks of coping with the future seem to condemn all purely national traits to triviality. While touring the country of Israel some weeks ago, however, I was once again confronted by the question of whether or not the guiding principle of German education in the fifties and sixties, of which we were so sure, namely that of educating a critical individual, had not already proved itself ineffectual.

In the last five years, we in Germany have often deplored a total reservation of young people vis-à-vis the intellectual challenge, which has taken the form of a lack of motivation or even apathy; today, however, we are confounded by the extent of these same young people's obsession with achievement under the compulsion of rigid selection. This is certainly as different from the much hoped-for emancipation as is the apathy mentioned above. Escapism as a third form of refusing to meet the demands of education seems to be the reason for youth's turning to means which directly affect personality: drugs, religious ecstasy or collectivist ideology. Incompetence in education seems to lie at the root of each of these three modes of youth behavior.

As I saw groups of young Israelis carrying their weapons on their pilgrimage to Massada, or for that matter Arab high school students on the West Banks demonstrating against the violent death of a fellow student, I was forced to rethink the question whether nationalism can be or should be the key to engagement and en-

thusiasm of young people. The answer of rocks and police-clubs was prompt and on the spot; elevating such a particular aspect to the one and only norm leads to inhumanity.

balancing of principles

In this situation clarification is necessary for a solution:

I think that we can meet the needs of the future if educators and students in their common process of learning succeed in carefully balancing the principles of the particular and the universal in education. To appreciate the particular, the corrective of a critical mind is necessary in order to avoid the "sin of hybris"; the alert and critical open mind, however, might be strengthened by reflecting on the particular. This thesis needs further clarification, especially since it cannot be backed by empirical data, but can only lead to a number of hypotheses based on an interpretation of certain phenomena.

(1) In this context the particular connotes the individual's limitations to his specific patterns of feeling and reasoning. Since the individual generally conforms to the value systems of those social groups which have been most influential in his socialization, the individual shares the particular characteristics of these groups. In the particular limitations and obligations are predominant and constantly challenge the individual's freedom.

(2) The universal in this context signifies what is essentially characteristic of man: the significantly spiritual and moral potential of the individual. Rational thinking is both the objective and the means of the universal. To be sure, rational thinking has brought about some universal structures of civilization, but at the same time it is also true that some of these world-wide superstructures of our technological world have developed anti-rational traits and are no longer controlled by the principle which has brought them forth.

(3) The attribute "German" as a national designation needs clarification as well: the results of World War II brought about the division of Germany into two separate German states: the Federal Republic of Germany, which is liberal in the sense of a

western democracy, and the German Democratic Republic, which is a socialist "Volksdemokratie," based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Although the Germans in both states have never lost their awareness of belonging to a common German nation, the educational systems, like most of the political and cultural sub-systems of the two societies, have gone their separate ways.

The following considerations consequently refer to the educational system of the Federal Republic only. Nevertheless, it would be quite informative to look into the distinction between the particular and the universal, as our two guiding theses, within the totalitarian ideology of communist Germany.

individual liberty

Since the reconstruction after the total physical and mental break-down at the end of the Hitler era, education in West Germany has tried to realize the universal in the above sense of the word, i.e. after the national catastrophe which had been caused by the total perversion of the national principle, the attempt was made to institute the idea of individual liberty as the guiding principle of public education: self-determination as a concrete expression of sovereign self-responsibility and the ability to criticize within the limits of a discourse free from controls.

In the late forties and early fifties we obviously made the mistake of drawing mainly from the educational tradition of the Weimar Republic and of reproducing it to a large extent; instead we should have taken the chance of a new start, reconsidering the great tradition of the enlightened liberal educational theories of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Wilhelm von Humboldt,¹ as head of the Prussian educational system, tried to realize the utopian ideas of the age of reason and the German classics directly by founding a corresponding school system which aimed at an enlightened general education.

¹Some great Americans who were confronted with these ideas at that time like George Bancroft, Edward Everett and George Ticknor admired the advanced stage of education in Germany and were strongly influenced by them (cf. the letters of the above mentioned).

The school curricula and lesson plans which he conceived show an astonishingly clear concept of balancing the development of particular and universal abilities. Fundamental principles of Humboldt's concept were among others:²

- a) Education is universal; consequently public schools have to aim at generally teaching humanity.
- b) The purpose of instruction at school is to teach how to learn. The maturity of a student proves itself by the degree to which he is able to learn independently.
- c) Individual education needs the social structures of family and nation as a stabilizing and strengthening potential.

For the further development of the Prussian, and for that matter the German, school system it was unfortunate that Humboldt's plans were increasingly deformed and limited under the influence of an administrative bureaucracy and in the course of growing German nationalism. Out of the dynamic and flexible idea of universal education grew the largely sterile concept of a static 'Allgemeinbildung' (general education) in an encyclopedic sense, which was structured vertically according to social strata within a three-fold school system based on class and which has continued up to present day.

To the extent that Humboldt's concept of universal education was watered down to encyclopedic knowledge, the necessary corrective for the prevention of the hypertrophy of the particular to chauvinism was missing. This led directly to the extinction of free thought and the absolutizing of the nation as a collective idea under Hitler.

The present educational problems in the Federal Republic of Germany have to be viewed against the background of this development of a national education during the last 150 years. After the holocaust of mass destruction and total war, a very serious attempt was made to institute democracy by drawing from the great democratic traditions of America and Europe. Most detri-

²Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Schriften zur Politik und zum Bildungswesen*, Werke IV, Darmstadt, 1964.

mental to this effort was our break with our own history, so much so that even Germany's great cultural and political contributions to western civilization were in danger of obliteration. As the "skeptical generation" we doubted everything, questioned almost every value and rejected all possible emotional ties. Man's destination, we thought, was his potential for criticism. In its final consequence this radical intellectualism lacked roots and sometimes developed an anarchic trait. German teachers of the fifties and sixties constantly exposed for their students the 'intact World' as a chimera.

At the same time this older generation underestimated the effect on the younger generation of the materialism of the so-called "Wirtschaftswunder" that permeated everyday life. The discrepancy between the pretension of the critical mind which seemed to grow increasingly ineffective, on the one hand, and the frequent replacing of the idea of democracy by a search for security and wealth, on the other hand, led to the alienation of the young and finally to the massive student unrest in the sixties. The anticlimax to this development was an increasing apolitical stance on the part of the young people; however, it also brought to light the contradictions between pretension and reality.

reconsideration

Thus the situation should be favorable for a reconsideration of educational objectives and methods. We have obviously overburdened the younger generation by exposing them to this open concept of radical skepticism, and we have demanded too much responsibility and maturity from them in solving conflicts, so that they were driven into resignation. We as educators must therefore draw the conclusion that students of today need more guidance in how to cope with the contradictions of life. In learning together within school as a social experiment, adults and youth must experience the compatibility of the particular with the universal, of the individual with the normative.

Looking at National-Socialism from the distance of three decades, the war generation should be able — with the help of the younger generation — to overcome any uncertainty of judgment which grew out of the understanding that a considerable part of the German intelligence had failed under Hitler. On the basis of this knowledge teachers and students should be able to make reliable and trustworthy attempts to cope with reality. This — I think — is the concrete task of educators in Germany today: portraying and living up to a concept of life which can be trusted in face of the demanding problems of the turn of the millennium.

At present, however, the reliability of the pedagogical goals in West Germany is being challenged by an increasing and rigid demand for achievement, which results from an absurd mechanism of computerized selection for university entry. Although children themselves experience daily the questionableness of grading, and although teachers know full well the limits of objective measuring of achievement, university placements and life chances are being distributed on the basis of computer data under the false pretense of representing objective achievement potential.

Not to mention the need to reconsider the relevance of the German high school diploma (Abitur) for university placement, the dilemma in the long run will only be solved if we Germans are able to overcome the fatal linking of general education with the distribution of professional chances. The demands of an enlightened, humane democracy necessitate the optimum education as a means of autonomy and self-determination of the individual without deducing from it the right to a highly endowed profession. In this respect public opinion in the Federal Republic of Germany will have to change considerably. Measuring the amount of education by the professional needs of society is already leading us up a dead end street.

IN THE END

They will find him
amid his notes, the body
face down. On turning him over,
that characteristic grin will show.
And all about: the notes, the poems
unfinished.

In the end
they will realize: the notes,
unfinished, are his poems, the only
one: not words of them;
their state.

JOHN DITSKY

MY FAILING STUDENT

(Now at Arlington National Cemetery)

Rest easy now who had no rest for long;
take from the earth the strength it did not give
while you were quick. There is no right or wrong,
no "shall" or "must," no scowled imperative
to harry your days or make insomniac
your tight-stretched nights where you lie still at last.
Knowing this so, we would not have you back
to die each day, each hour, in the perilous, vast
chartless kingdom of the untrained mind. You fought,
longer than others have, the unseen foe,
his endless waves of shock troops, panic wrought,
the never-quite arriving final blow.

Rest easy now among the many slain
Fighting in many wars the same campaign.

GORDEN LINK

The Education of a Modern “International”

*“Bir lisan, bir insan” (One foreign language
is like one person)*

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk
(The Father of Modern Turkey)

JOHN CHALFANT

For well over a century, while fashions and enthusiasms in international education have waxed and waned, Robert College of Istanbul has been a fixed point amidst the swirl, a functioning expression of a great ideal. The school's purpose is — and has always been — to serve the youth of a single nation — Turkey — by offering a quality education that combines in itself the best elements of two very different cultures. In this respect, it is virtually a unique institution and may well be the most bicultural, binational and bilingual effort in American secondary education.

In the parlance of British football, an “international” is a highly-skilled player who has been selected to represent the nation in an international competition. Obviously this individual is not only a superior performer amongst his countrymen but possesses the ability to compete effectively with the best from other lands. To prepare such “internationals” for the Turkish “side” is why a school like RC exists today, its graduates being able representatives of their own nation and notably successful by international standards.

The training formula is a simple one — identify the best students, match them with superior teachers and adequate facilities and push

them as hard as they can go. The one special feature of the program is the emphasis on a near-total-mastery of a second language, thereby providing a passport to new worlds of wisdom and opportunity.

From the very beginnings of the school in 1863, it has been considered essential that the students should study in English — and that along with the words and the symbols and the terms, the *tune* of the language should also be learned. Thus the emphasis on the use of native speakers in English, mathematics and the sciences (non-Turks currently constitute 50% of the teaching staff) and thus the effort to acquaint students with the basic assumptions and thought processes that underlie the language. Thus also, the many tedious hours of ground-training in drill, composition and vocabulary building, followed by the tentative take-offs into literature, and finally the soaring solo flights through billowing clouds of ideas. An easy familiarity with a second tongue comes hard indeed, unless one is born into a bilingual or multilingual environment, and the accomplishment is all the more impressive when one can think as well as express himself in two or more languages.

In addition to those subjects taught in the English language (approximately 60% of the total curriculum), the College offers a full range of courses in Turkish; these cover the fields of language and literature, social studies, geography, history, ethics, sociology, philosophy, religion and military science. The result is that students are not separated, in any way, from their own culture, traditions and national aspirations. This blending does make for a full work-load, however, with each Lise II (a junior or 11th year student) enjoying a weekly schedule of 36 regular classes, in eleven different subject areas. (And so eager are students to augment their language skills that some three-quarters of them take electives in either French or German.)

Is not all this a rather blatant example of cultural or linguistic imperialism at work? It is not generally seen as such — harking back to our earlier definition of an “international” — for Turkey is, after all, an important participant in the world’s affairs, both major and minor, and it does intend to be represented by those

Turks best equipped to protect Turkish interests, able to articulate Turkish aspirations and feelings in ways best suited to convince foreigners and prepared to buy and sell shrewdly in the universal marketplace of ideas. The school's aim, therefore, is not to lead a student away from his heritage but to encourage him to apply his newly acquired skills, talents and perspective to the cause of his own nation's development. Some erosion of ethnocentrism is essential to expose the purest, most useful strains of nationalism.

"cultural cripples"

Unfortunately, the school does graduate some "cultural cripples" on occasion, those who have not yet adjusted to the conflicting demands of their two worlds or who have not yet reconciled the splits within their own minds or personalities, but such cases are rarer than one might think, and the more common product is an impressively well-balanced and harmonious unity of opposites — combining, for example, a questing, objective spirit of scientific inquiry with an easy acceptance of his own society's stress on unquestioning deference to the opinions of the older members of one's family; strong personal ambition will march alongside a great tolerance for the needs of one's classmates and a total identification with and loyalty to one's group. A breezy "Hi, Sir!" to a passing American instructor may be instantly followed by a formal nod and greeting to a Turkish teacher, and neither attitude seems to foster a sense of resentment or confusion. Surely a tribute to the mental and social flexibility of mankind, and perhaps, ultimately, our saving grace.

This process of fusion, when achieved, is a most complex one, however, and the mechanism must be adjusted every few years. In a country that is changing rapidly, dramatically and fundamentally, we recognize a new generation of student about every five years, and our programs, techniques and personnel must be constantly reviewed. RC is also an integral part of the Turkish system of national education, subject to the authority and control of the Ministry of Public Instruction; therefore, every new direc-

tion, every reform, every shift of emphasis in Turkish education has an immediate effect on some part of our own program. The advantage of this situation is that the course of each educational excursion is always determined by the fixed stars of the nation's educational objectives.

These sudden surges of change do call for immediate accommodation to new realities. Five years ago, for example, not more than 10% of our students had television sets in their homes; today about 90% will regularly watch TV, and the educational impact has been extraordinary. As the city of Istanbul is one of the world's fastest-growing cities, with a population that is doubling every eight years (currently estimated at 4.3 million), the various urban pressures and strains on our students have been considerable. A new middle class has popped up, propelled by high-rise expectations, and the family of a clever boy will not permit him to relax for one moment, as the family's success or prestige, or both, may well be hitched to his star.

social patterns

Social patterns are also changing: with more pocket money, more distractions, more mobility and fewer traditional restraints than any previous generation, the Turkish adolescent, at least in the major urban centers, is virtually indistinguishable from his European counterpart. As recently as eight years ago, only about 20% of a class graduating from the American College for Girls (the sister school of Robert College before the merger of the two institutions in 1971) would plan to go on to higher education; today some 97% of the girls in any given class will expect to enter the universities of their choice. Arranged marriages are rare now, at least among the upper and middle classes, and a woman with university training is both accepted and admired. One could continue citing such dramatic examples of change, but the point to be made is that the school's survival as an effective institution is based on its being able to respond as briskly and as completely as possible to a very new and different set of circumstances every few years.

"an international"

But though the methods and materials may vary, the aim is constant — to produce a graduate who is at home in two (or more) languages, two cultures and two intellectual milieus. A superficial familiarity with another culture is not enough, and often does as much harm as good. Knowing only bits and pieces of another language can be awkward at best, and lacking an understanding or appreciation of another set of cues and responses can be disastrous. This is one reason why travel alone, or in combination with the study of a foreign language, will not serve the purposes of international education. For example, a few brief encounters in Turkey might easily fix the impression that it is a country of stolid, somewhat simple but amiable peasants, or conversely, a land of aggressive, arrogant, avaricious merchants and hotelkeepers. One could cry, "I loved it!" or "I hated it!", but either statement would be a shallow reaction to an inadequate number of experiences. The education of an "international" must be more comprehensive, and it usually takes from four to seven years at RC, with at least one year given over to language learning alone.

The typical aspirant to the status of "an international" will be a bright, ambitious youngster of 11 or 12 years of age (or perhaps 15 — admission to RC is possible at both age levels), who wants to attend a "foreign language school" and by mastering another language, hopes thereby to obtain a ticket of admission to the world of success or happiness, be it defined by one's importance, one's material wealth, or the variety of stimulating opportunities that will come his way. As one might expect, the possibility of reaching such goals exists for a fortunate few only, at least for the moment. The national system of education has been completely overwhelmed by the increasing demands and the escalating numbers of school-age children, and it is incapable of meeting their needs. Although adjustments and improvements have been and are being made, it is fair to say that the acquisition of a solid, basic education is still really a privilege in Turkey and is not yet an established, realizable right. (This year, for example, some 350,000 young men and women will acquire Lycée diplomas, which will

entitle them to take the government-administered “central university entrance examinations.” Based on their performance in these one-shot, comprehensive achievement tests, about 50,000 winners will be admitted to the various faculties of all the Turkish universities and other schools of higher education; the rest will just have to sort themselves out as best as they can, and many will try the exams again in another year.)

Our young scholar will probably start taking private lessons at the age of ten — in preparation for the entrance examinations of the various private and “foreign language” secondary schools in Turkey — studying with a tutor for as many as twelve hours a week, after school and on weekends; all this in addition, of course, to the regular class work of his last years in primary school. With sufficient preparation, a sound nervous system and a measure of good luck on the testing day, he will be one of the hundred winners admitted each year to RC, out of approximately 2,500 candidates. (Boys and girls are admitted on a fixed 1:1 ratio, but as Turkey stands as a sturdy citadel of male supremacy, we will stay with the dominant gender throughout this article.)

During his first year, he will study English from seven to twelve hours a day, and his educational future at the school will hang on his ability to learn someone else’s language. If he does well, he’s a bright boy; if he doesn’t, he is a dullard and a failure. It is a power we wield which calls forth many sacrifices to the everlasting glory of the English language. (And of course, we seek to convince him that a knowledge of English is the surest sign of intelligence.) There is also the learning of new study techniques, the forming of relationships with new friends, new teachers and with foreigners! He will soon learn, for example, that foreigners are likely to be rather more careless about his dress and the length of his hair than were his former teachers, but they will be dismayingly precise in matters relating to personal accountability or to the accuracy of his responses.

In his “middle school” years at RC (roughly equivalent to grades 7 through 9), our lad’s language skills will become broader and deeper, and he will begin to master the tools and techniques

of Western science and mathematics, those glittering golden keys that will unlock the gates to academic attainment, lifelong employment and material accomplishment. (Given the collective enthusiasms for these particular subjects, along with the fact that most students have been so well-drilled in the basics, it is not surprising that the average performance of any RC senior class on the mathematics section of the SAT will be around the 90th percentile and that a large majority of the graduates will point for careers in engineering, technology, science, mathematics, or related fields.)

well-rounded students

During the "secondary school" period (grades 10 through 12), all "windows on the West" are flung open as wide as possible, and the special emphasis (outside of the steady concentration on mathematics and the sciences) is given to Turkish and Western literature, the humanities, composition, research, public discourse, and to a full range of extra-curricular activities. The objective, of course, is the development of well-rounded students, but without a deliberate and purposeful insistence on these programs, there would be less appreciation of literature and the arts than we desire, and intellectual horizons would be narrowed. The demands of a heavy work-load, the overemphasis on scientific subjects, the general concern over passing (worries about grades are real, though the attrition rate is quite low), and a brooding awareness of the trials that await just beyond graduation conspire to keep the students serious, tense and calculating. At the end of the junior year, for example, most students will begin taking private lessons outside the school once again, to prepare themselves for the ordeal-by-examination that will stand between them and the next higher levels of education. Quite obviously, these students have a lot to lose, and consequently, little is ever left to chance.

However (for those who like happy endings), RC graduates have been uniformly successful, thus far, and upon completion of his work, our hero will enter a university; it is likely that he

will stay in Turkey, along with 65% of his classmates, but the school's graduates are to be found in better universities all over the world.

Later on, our "international" will assume a position of responsibility, either in Turkey or abroad, and he may well represent the interests of his nation at international conferences; he may enjoy the status and prestige of an intellectual, or he may be a practical mover and shaker, but he will be a true "international" in any case, standing as a personal symbol of the link between Modern Turkey and the West.

Not unexpectedly (for those who prefer more cautious conclusions) there are a number of significant difficulties connected with the operation of this type of school nowadays, not the least of which are the real and expanding pressures created by cultural and linguistic know-nothings. Although the world is, in fact, becoming ever smaller and more interdependent, this process is being vigorously countered by a contrary urge to re-arrange social groupings into smaller, almost mutually exclusive, tribal units, and it remains to be seen how schools like Robert College will meet this new set of challenges.

There should continue to be a large measure of popular support for this type of training in Turkey, however, for present needs are not unlike those in existence at another critical transition period, in 1890, when one of the intellectual giants of modern Turkish history, Ziya Gökalp, was about to enter a secondary school. As he relates the story:

"I was just beginning my fourteenth year. One day my father was talking with one of his friends who was telling him something about my great ambition for learning. He said that if I were sent to Europe to study, the country would gain a man of learning. My father said: 'The youth sent to Europe to study learn only European sciences, but remain ignorant of our own national learning. Those who attend the mosque schools may learn something about our religious and national learning, if they happen to have good teachers, but they remain ignorant of the European sciences. I believe that for us the most useful teachers will be those who know the truths which are most immediately necessary for us. And

these truths cannot be discovered by the European sciences, nor do they exist now in our national learning in a real sense. Our youth must study carefully French, on the one hand, and Arabic and Persian on the other. They must come to a position where they can master both Western and Eastern learning. And then they must discover the great truths which our nation needs, by comparing and combining Western and Eastern learning. This is the way I want to educate Ziya.' "

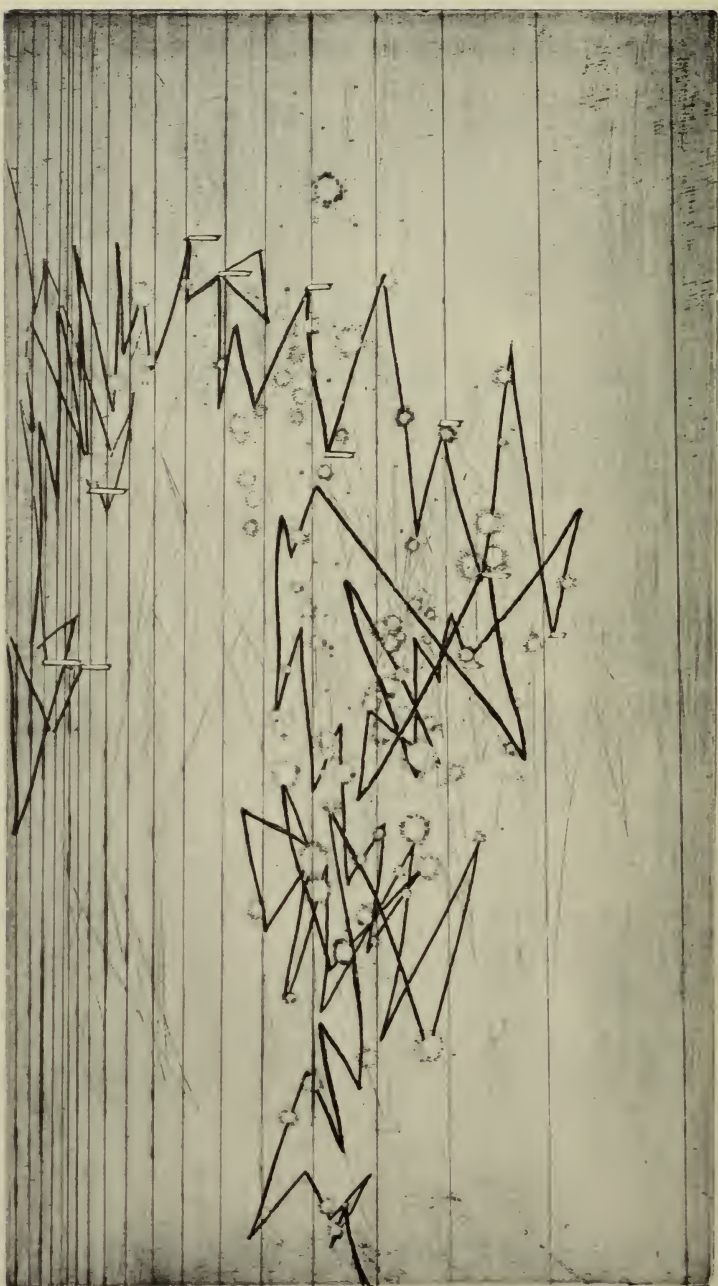
Ziya Gökalp, *An Autobiography*, 1923
(Translation by Niyazi Berkes)

With a second language and a sophisticated awareness of its possibilities, one man becomes a plural person, and is made quite singular in the process.

PONDER OF LEARNING

Learn from a leaf,
lower and lower bent
under the weight of snow.
When the burden's enough –
look! this blade lets go
the heaviest increment
of what it held – or what
held on lets go itself.
The leaf rises to grow
free. Take learning white
upon you. Take the stuff
of wintry context. Lean
to bear it till it slant
off your evergreen.

NORMA FARBER



JOAN BRAGEN

More British than the British

An Overview of Australian Schools

ANTONY J. DEV. HILL

I had landed in San Francisco two days earlier on my way to teach at Andover. Travelling east on a Greyhound bus between Omaha and Des Moines, I was joined by a little old lady from Arizona, who entertained me with her views on matters social, political and matrimonial. After an hour or so, she detected a foreign twang in my occasional 'yes' or 'no' or 'that's true.' She was delighted to learn that I was Australian, asked me about kangaroos and complimented me on how well I spoke English.

Her ignorance of Australia is not unusual, nor is it particularly surprising. Americans remember Australia as an ally in four major wars and as a sunny, friendly place to take rest and recreation after the sands of Iwo Jima and the mud of Vietnam. They picture all Australians as tall, lean and suntanned like the tennis-players, distance-runners and swimmers they see on their Saturday afternoon sports shows. Australia is the last frontier, the spiritual heir to the American West.

In fact, Australia is one of the most urbanized countries in the world, has an increasingly diverse population drawn from all parts of Europe and even from western and south-eastern Asia, and since the Second World War has industrialized rapidly.¹ Its tiny popu-

¹The value of its factories' production has increased from \$633,000,000 in 1942 to \$7,900,000,000 in 1969, and only 9.4% of the labor force was employed in primary production in 1966. (*Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia* No. 56, 1970, Canberra, A.C.T.: Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1970, pp. 1061 & 693).

lation of 13,600,800² lives in a few large cities on the south-eastern rim of one of the largest countries in the world. Its area is only slightly less than that of the United States or China; yet by the standards of those countries, it is virtually uninhabited. Eighty-three per cent of the population live in urban areas and forty-two per cent of its people live in just two cities, Sydney and Melbourne.³ These cities have grown from tiny British settlements planted on the coast in the fifty years after 1788, designed originally to take the English and Irish convicts who could not be contained in English jails, and chosen because of their remoteness from Europe. Around the six coastal towns of Sydney, Melbourne, Hobart, Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth, settlers established farms, grew wheat and wool, discovered gold and eventually, as six separate colonies, achieved a measure of independence from Great Britain. In 1901, the six colonies joined together to form the Commonwealth of Australia, whose Constitution brought together the British system of parliamentary government and American federalism. The six colonies became States in the new federation and handed over specific powers to the central government. They retained control over the schools.

The development of these schools had been shaped by the historical influences described above: by the size of the country and its distance from Europe, by the long period of British rule and by the homogeneity of the white population, which, until 1945, was overwhelmingly British. It was not overwhelmingly Anglican. Many of the settlers were Catholic and Protestant Dissenters. The bitter conflicts between the established Anglican Church and the Dissenters led to the establishment of a large number of Church schools. But more importantly it was responsible for the creation of a State system of primary and secondary schools. These schools were strongly supported by the radical movements, by the Chartists in the eighteen-fifties and by the socialists at the end of the century. The powerful unions and their political arm, the Austra-

²*Australia Bulletin*, June 1, 1976, no. 1, p. 6.

³*Official Year Book 1970*, pp. 127-8.

lian Labor Party, have seen the schools as a way of equalizing the economic and social opportunities of the nation's children.

The first small schools had been run by the Churches, supported by the government and totally independent of each other. The distances, the uneven distribution of the population, sectarian disputes and the shortage of human and material resources persuaded the colonial governments to centralize control of the schools in their own hands. There it has remained. It was argued that:

(A centralized system) demands but one code of laws applying to every school, and but one organization to carry them into effect. On this account it is more readily supervised, more effectively controlled, and so more cheaply administered. . . . It secures a well-defined course of instruction and a fixed standard of attainments. . . .

The second great characteristic of the system is its comprehensiveness.⁴

In each of the six States, a Department of Education has laid down a uniform policy on buildings and facilities, on subjects taught, on standards to be attained by pupils, on teaching methods and lesson materials, and on the preparation, classification, appointment and promotion of teachers. A body of school inspectors has been charged with enforcing these uniform standards and procedures.

The justification for this apparently rigid and bureaucratic system has been that it guarantees equal treatment for all students, city or country, black or white, poor or rich. Teachers are assigned according to need and cannot avoid a few years in the more isolated parts of the state. In practice resources have not been distributed equally, parents in the richer suburbs provide extra facilities for their local schools, other middle-class parents send their children to private schools, and a number of insignificant minorities have been seriously neglected.

A more imaginative reaction to the problem of large distances and a sparse population has been the creation of the "schools of

⁴Griffiths, D. C. (ed.), *Documents on the Establishment of Education in New South Wales, 1789-1880*, Melbourne, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1957, p. 103.

the air" and of the correspondence schools. Australia has also had its share of the one room schoolhouses familiar to mid-Westerners in the United States. The "schools of the air" broadcast daily by pedal radio to isolated homesteads, where mothers act as tutors and the young children operate the radios themselves. The students develop a remarkably close relationship with their teacher and have generally made considerable progress in their studies. Most then go on to private boarding schools, which have played an important part in serving the needs of country children.

But most children live in the cities and attend the primary schools and high schools built and closely supervised by the State. These schools have tended to be conservative, certainly by American standards. It is tempting to blame their conservatism on the centralized and bureaucratic Education Department.⁵ More likely reasons are the strong attachment to Britain and its institutions,* the homogeneity and stability of the population and the great distance of Australia from both Europe and the United States. Outward signs of the schools' conservatism are the school uniforms worn by students in almost all state and private schools. It is still common to see children in the primary schools lining up and marching into classes, where they sit in neat rows facing the teacher, stand up when a visitor enters the room and quickly learn to speak only when spoken to. The role of the Australian teacher is authoritarian, and he puts a high priority on order and conformity in the classroom.⁶ Until recently schools have been reluctant to use the new media and technology and have ignored educational research and experiments in other countries.⁷

⁵C. A. Bowers, in his *Cultural Literacy For Freedom: An Existential Perspective on Teaching, Curriculum, and School Policy* (Eugene, Oregon: Elan Publishers, 1974), argues that local control of schools, as in the United States, is inherently conservative and restricts innovation.

* Many Australians still refer to Britain as "home."

⁶For detailed research on teacher styles in the United Kingdom, the United States, New Zealand, and Australia, see Adams, R. S., "Perceived Teaching Styles," *Comparative Education Review*, 1970, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 50-59.

⁷Frank Watts, *Education for Change*, Manly, N.S.W.: Australian College of Education, June 1973, pp. 3-4.

The schools have favored differentiation and specialization at an early age. The model for their organization was the system of classification and streaming introduced in Great Britain after the Hadow Report of 1926. It reflects the great faith of Sir Cyril Burt, and of many others at that time, in the discriminatory power and accuracy of examinations and psychological testing.⁸ In Australia, as in Britain, the educational system starts from the universities and works down, unlike the American system, which starts with the masses to be educated and works upwards. Until very recently the schools were organized in a hierarchy of boys' academic high schools, girls' academic high schools, boys' technical high schools, girls' domestic science high schools and the several junior schools and intermediate schools.⁹ Comprehensive high schools are more common now, and most are coeducational, but the academic high schools persist and are not unlike the English grammar schools. They seek to emulate the best private schools, whose critics pay tribute to the Australian version of the English "Public" School even in their criticisms:

The academic high schools . . . have come to possess some of the characteristics and atmosphere of the best independent schools . . . At their peaks, the State secondary systems reach a level not inferior to the best non-government schools — at least so far as purely scholastic standards are concerned.¹⁰

To select students for the different "streams," the schools and universities have devised a formidable battery of examinations, which for many years have prevented the majority of students from finishing high school, let alone continuing on to university. As recently as 1972, only 30% of 17-year-olds remained in school, and

⁸For an interesting discussion of the history of "streaming" in Great Britain see Brian Simon, "Classification and Streaming: A Study of Grouping in English Schools 1860-1960" in Nash, Paul (ed.), *History and Education, The Educational Uses of the Past*, New York: Random House, 1970, pp. 116-134.

⁹For an American reaction to this system in 1955, see Butts, R. Freeman, *Assumptions Underlying Australian Education*, New York: Columbia University Teachers' College, 1955.

¹⁰Partridge, P. H., *Society, Schools and Progress in Australia*, Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1968, p. 99.

less than half of those went on to university.¹¹ As has been the case in Britain and the United States, most of those who did survive these hurdles came from families of high socio-economic status.¹² Australian educators for a long time believed with Socrates that the unexamined life was not worth living.

male dominated society

There have been some changes in the last twenty years. In the nineteen-sixties public examinations in the tenth and twelfth grades became standard in most States, and in the last six years several States have begun to phase out the tenth grade examination. The twelfth grade matriculation examination remains a formidable barrier, and it is used to select students for the universities and for the different professional schools within the universities. Girls, migrants, country children and aborigines are poorly represented amongst the matriculants, and it is reasonable to deduce that each of these groups has in the past suffered from neglect and discrimination.

That girls have not received an equal education will not surprise anyone who has visited Australia. From the early days of settlement, when there were very few women, Australia has been a male-dominated society. Only a small number of women entered the professions, and most girls did not go beyond the tenth grade.¹³ Even teachers tended to be men rather than women.¹⁴ Segregated schools emphasized the inequality of the sexes, and girls' schools, even the best academic girls' high schools, tended to be placed below their male equivalents in the educational hierarchy. Girls were

¹¹Segall, Patsy and Fitzgerald, R. T., *Finance for Education in Australia: An Analysis*, Hawthorn, Victoria: A.C.E.R., 1974, p. 36.

¹²The figures for Australia are given in Musgrave, P. W., *Socialization in Australian Schools*, Hawthorn, Victoria: A.C.E.R., 1973, p. 26. In the United States the imbalance is increasing rather than decreasing as is shown in *The Condition of Education*, Washington, D.C.: U.S.G.P.O., 1976, p. 231, Table 4.19.

¹³Musgrave, P. W., *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁴Australia, Commonwealth Office of Education, Bulletin No. 17, *Statistics of Australian Education for 1958 and Earlier Years*, Canberra: AGPO, 1961.

expected to study certain subjects, and most did not work after they were married. In the Victorian Matriculation examination in 1969 male candidates were clustered in subjects such as Calculus and Applied Math, Pure Math, Chemistry and Physics (prerequisites for entry into university schools of Science, Medicine and Engineering) while the female candidates favored Art, Biology, English Literature and French.¹⁵ In the last five years there has been some change in educational policy and societal attitudes. The newly-formed national Schools' Commission has urged that special attention be given to the education of girls in the next three years and has provided for special funds to be applied to that purpose.¹⁶

most neglected group

The most neglected group of all has been the aboriginal population, whose fate has been not unlike that of the American Indians. For many years a few mission schools taught a handful of aborigines to read, write and wear clothes, and only twenty years ago did the first aborigine graduate from a university.¹⁷ Whether living in the huge reservations in the dry center of Australia or existing as dejected fringe-dwellers in the urban areas, the aboriginal people have found it difficult to adapt to the ways of the white man, whose values, ambitions and methods are foreign to them. The expenditure of large sums of government money may eventually "educate" these nomads, though their "education" will probably mean their forcible assimilation and their destruction as an independent people.¹⁸

¹⁵*Quality in Australian Education Conference*, May 1972, Melbourne, Victoria: Australian Union of Students, 1972, p. 54.

¹⁶Schools' Commission, *Report for the Triennium 1976-8, A Summary*, Canberra, A.C.T.: A.G.P.O., 1975, p. 4.

¹⁷Charles Perkins at Sydney University. He was able to pay his way because of his skill as a professional footballer, and has since become an important leader of aboriginal organizations. It is perhaps significant that many aboriginal activists now prefer the title 'blacks'.

¹⁸For a precise and depressing description of the educational plight of aborigines, see Broom, L., "Educational Status of Aborigines," *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, vol. 6, no. 2, October 1975.

Just as the Anglo-Saxon majority for long neglected the original inhabitants of Australia, so it has ignored the needs and difficulties of the most recent settlers from southern and eastern Europe. Again there has been some effort in the last few years to improve the quality of education in such important areas as the teaching of English as a foreign language and to provide special finance for run-down, inner-city schools, which contain large migrant and aboriginal populations. There have also been some changes in curriculum and texts to try and modify the Anglo-Saxon Protestant biases that previously pervaded them.

It was this Protestant bias, and the vehement insistence of nineteenth-century radicals such as Henry Parkes that schools be free, compulsory and *secular*, that persuaded Catholics in Australia, as in the United States, to establish a competing system of parochial schools. But whereas parochial schools only educate about 9% of American children,¹⁹ in Australia they account for almost 20% of the school population.²⁰ Many of the new migrants from such countries as Italy are attracted to the Catholic schools, and the parishes have committed the major part of their funds to education. As the number of their students grew in the nineteen-sixties, the Church found it could not pay the bills. After much debate the Federal and State governments began to finance private schools, at first in the form of specific grants for science laboratories, libraries or other buildings, and then on a per capita basis.²¹ The provision of a certain amount for each student enrolled is not unlike the voucher system proposed in the United States, with two significant differences. First, the amounts paid are not very large and have to be supplemented by fees and parish funds. Second, there is no

¹⁹Kraushaar, Otto F., *American Nonpublic Schools: Patterns of Diversity*, Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972, pp. 14 & 23. The figures are for 1968 and mark a decline from a peak enrolment of about six million. That decline has continued.

²⁰*Schools in Australia: Report of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission* May 1973, Canberra, A.C.T.: A.G.P.O., 1973, p. 27 (also known as the Karmel Report).

²¹The details of past payments and future budgets are spelt out in the *Karmel Report* and the *Schools' Commission Report*. Per capita payments are now scaled according to need (of the school not the student).

effective control over the way the money is spent by the private schools, no accountability to the government or the taxpayer.

The Protestant schools benefited from the plight of their Catholic rivals and received the same grants and per capita payments, even though many of them were quite wealthy and could rely on support from affluent and successful "old boys" and "old girls." As was mentioned earlier, some of the Protestant schools have a very high reputation, and both Catholic and State schools have sought to emulate their performance in the all-important matriculation examinations. Few can hope to emulate their success in preparing their students to take a leading part in Australian political and economic life. Australia's last three Prime Ministers attended such schools.²² In the 1962 edition of 'Who's Who in Australia,' six private schools from one State (Victoria) accounted for 10.5% of all male entries.²³ Critics argue that private schools are divisive, but it is most unlikely that any serious effort will be made to reduce their numbers. The cost of taking them over would be prohibitive, and the combined power of the Catholic Church and the Anglo-Saxon establishment is politically irresistible.

decade of changes

As a result of Australia's history and geography Australian schools were centralized, hierarchical, meritocratic²⁴ and conservative. To a large extent they still are. But there have been some important changes, most of which have occurred in the last ten years, and all of which are a result of social and economic developments since the Second World War.

²²William McMahon, Liberal (Sydney Grammar School), Gough Whitlam, Labor (Canberra Grammar School), and Malcolm Frazer, Liberal (Geelong Grammar School).

²³Hansen, I. V., *Nor Free Nor Secular*, Melbourne, Victoria: Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 268.

²⁴The argument in Michael Young's *The Rise of the Meritocracy* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1970) could equally well apply to the Australian system of examinations and academic high schools.

When the Japanese forces were stopped in New Guinea in 1942, Australians were brutally reminded of their geographical position as a European outpost in Asia, of the underpopulation of their vast continent, of the military weakness of Great Britain, on whom they had so long relied, of their dependence on primary exports and of their lack of an industrial base to supply a nation in arms. Immediately after the war, the Labor government encouraged the immigration of hundreds of thousands of New Australians, not only from Britain but also from southern and eastern Europe.²⁵ The population increased from 7,077,586 in 1940 to 13,600,800 in 1976 and provided a labor force for the new industries which boosted factory production from \$633,000,000 to \$7,900,000,000 and helped swell Australia's exports.²⁶ The schools faced a new task in educating the children of migrants and were under pressure from industry to provide skilled and literate personnel for the new factories. The discovery of vast new mineral resources added to Australia's prosperity and stimulated further immigration and industrial growth. The new wealth was more evenly spread than in most Western countries, and Australia more accurately represented the "affluent society" than the United States which Galbraith was describing.²⁷ A middle-class society expected a good education for its children and began to question the traditional school system. At the same time improved and speedier communications meant that Australians were more aware of changes in other countries. Thousands travelled, worked and studied overseas,²⁸ and more and more foreign

²⁵Italians, Dutch, Poles, and Greeks were the largest non-British groups, but there were still more Britons than all other immigrants combined. The Minister for Immigration in 1945, Mr. Calwell (notorious for his aphorism "Better White than Wong"), opposed Asian immigration, but the so-called "White Australia Policy" was substantially modified in the 1960's and increasing numbers of Asians are now immigrating.

²⁶Official Year Book 1970, pp. 126 & 1061.

²⁷Gabriel Kolko in *Wealth and Power in America* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962) shows that personal income is distributed very unequally in the United States, and that that inequality has been increasing (see e.g. p. 14). Comparable figures for Australia are in the *Official Year Book* 1970, p. 592.

²⁸Including teachers: *Chronicle of Australian Education*, vol. 2, no. 3, December 1969, pp. 117-125.

visitors came to Australia.²⁹ Improved communications within the country helped centralize power in the federal government, which used its control over the income tax to whittle away the power of the States.

federal government assistance

It was to the Federal government that supporters of educational change looked for financial and philosophical support. For twenty-three years, a Liberal Government which was philosophically opposed to increased federal power gradually entered different areas of education, beginning with the universities, then turning to the schools. Funds for libraries and science laboratories were followed by per capita payments for children in private schools. But this was not enough. The States were demanding more money for the schools and organizations of teachers, and parents were demanding a more active federal role in education. In the 1972 election education was a major issue, and teacher unions came out actively for the Opposition.³⁰ For the first time since 1949 a Labor Government was elected. It immediately appointed an Australian Schools' Commission to determine educational priorities and plan federal expenditure on education for the next three years. The Karmel Report was presented to Parliament five months later, and the government accepted all of its recommendations. Federal expenditure on education increased from \$443 million in 1972-73 to \$1,908 million in the current financial year.³¹ When the Labor Party was defeated last December, the new government made no effort to change educational policies. In May this year the Budget

²⁹Amongst them were Freeman Butts in 1955 and Ivan Illich in 1972. Both created a mild sensation among Australian educators.

³⁰In April 1972 the Australian Broadcasting Commission took three hours of television prime time to show a national audience a massive program on the plight of Australian education. Two political commentators felt that education was one of the issues which secured the Labor victory (Oakes, Laurie and Solomon, David, *The Making of an Australian Prime Minister*, Melbourne, Victoria: F. W. Cheshire, 1973, pp. 303 & 308).

³¹*Education 1975-76, Budget Paper No. 8*, Circulated by The Honourable Kim E. Beazley, M.P., Minister for Education, Canberra, A.C.T.: A.G.P.S., 1975.

was cut by \$2,600 million to try and combat inflation. Only one department's budget was untouched – that of the Department of Education.³²

The Schools' Commission has stressed the quality of schooling and the equality of educational opportunity. It has defined equality as "equal access to occupational and life options through schooling" and has laid emphasis on "more equal outcomes from schooling" to be attained by mitigating "social group disparities." The particular groups that have been singled out for help are aborigines, migrants, girls and country children.³³ Apart from support for these special groups, funds have been made available to the States for general recurrent expenditure, general building, libraries, disadvantaged schools, special education, teacher development and "innovations."³⁴ Although the latter two programs have not been heavily funded, they may have the most significant long-term results.

The Labor Party's policy was to decentralize educational administration and to involve parents in the making of educational policy. The Schools' Commission strongly endorsed this objective. In practice teacher unions have resisted parent control,³⁵ and many recent innovations have been the result of policy decision by State Directors-General of Education.³⁶ Despite this apparent resistance to change there have been some significant innovations. Primary schools have been greatly influenced by the British experiments with the 'open classroom,' and in four States all new schools are being designed on an open basis. In South Australia two new high schools have been built as combined schools and community centers

³²*London Times*, May 20, 1976.

³³Schools Commission, *Report for the Triennium 1976-8, A Summary*, pp. 1-4.

³⁴*Schools in Australia 1973*, Part II, Chapters 6-12.

³⁵*The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 6, 1973, describes the capitulation of the Education Minister Willis to the teacher unions over the question of parent representation on School Councils.

³⁶For example in Western Australia it was the Minister of Education who proposed and implemented the end of the system of inspection. (Dettman, H. W., "Changes in School Supervision in Western Australia," *Australian Journal of Education*, vol. 13, no. 2, June 1969, pp. 147-166).

with theaters, libraries, kindergarten, cafeteria and gymnasias used by the whole community both in and out of normal school hours. In Victoria four 'community' schools, attached to normal high schools, have been developed on the Parkway model, demonstrating the increasing influence of American educational practices in what had been an exclusively British domain. Other schools are experimenting with work programs and with Outward Bound techniques. Finally there is a handful of alternative schools, but their numbers do not compare with the flowering of such schools in the United States in the 1960's.³⁷

schools have changed little

These innovations cannot conceal the fact that most schools, both public and private, have changed but little. They are failing to meet the older academic objectives and newer affective concerns.³⁸ In some cases the lack of change has brought tension between teachers and administration, between teachers and students and between parents and schools. It seems likely that the next ten years will see significant changes in Australian schools. If Departments of Education continue their efforts to decentralize, teacher, parent and student influence in the administration of schools should increase. If the number and rigidity of external examinations are reduced, then one might expect more diverse curricula with more relevance to Australia's geographical position, its environmental concerns, its changing population and its emerging social democracy. Certainly one would expect the high level of expenditure on education to continue.

No amount of government expenditure will change the structure of the schools significantly unless society's expectations also change. Australia is a country in search of itself. There have been three

³⁷These and other innovations are described in Fitzgerald, R. T. and Matthews, J. K. and Thompson, P. P., *Alternative Education: What Choice or Difference?* Hawthorn, Victoria: A.C.E.R., 1974.

³⁸A recent report of the Australian Council for Educational Research seems to have sparked a debate rather like that described as the "Back to Basics" movement in the United States (see report in *New York Times*, May 23, 1976).

national anthems in as many years. The myth of the tall, bronzed Australian stockman persists in a competitive urban society. Loyalty to Britain and to British traditions remains strong in a country whose most important economic and political ties are with Japan and the United States. The society is doggedly Anglo-Saxon despite the increasing number of "New Australians" and the increasing militancy of the aborigines. The future shape of Australian schools will reflect the outcome of these contradictions.



STUART FULLERTON

Contributors

ARTICLES

JOHN CHALFANT is the headmaster of Robert College, Istanbul, Turkey.

SUSAN CHIRA graduated from Phillips Academy last June. She was a member of a drama exchange with England last year.

MARCO FIGUS was educated in Rome; he spent last year at Phillips Academy in preparation for Georgetown University.

ROMAN GERSHKOVICH was educated in Russia. He attended a short term institute at Phillips Academy. He enters Brandeis this fall.

DONALD H. GOODYEAR has travelled widely in Russia as well as in European countries. He teaches English at Phillips Academy.

ANTONY J. DEV. HILL was educated in Australia. He has spent the last six years studying and teaching in the United States. He will return to Australia early next year.

STANLEY D. IVIE, presently in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at North Carolina State University at Raleigh, has published some twenty-five articles in different educational journals.

LILLIE DOUMANIAN MERIGIAN is head of the English and journalism departments at Holy Martyrs Ferrahian Armenian High School in Encino, California.

NATALIE SCHORR has studied and taught in France. She teaches French at Phillips Academy.

THEODORE R. SIZER is headmaster of Phillips Academy.

OTTO HEINRICH VEHRKAMP is director of teacher training at Gottingen University, Germany.

RICHARD VETTERLI, Professor of Government at Pasadena City College, has recently published *Storming the Citadel: The Fundamental Revolution Against Progressive Education*.

POEMS

ALLAN BLOCK, a sandal maker and folk-singer, has published a book of poems *In Noah's Wake*.

JOHN DITSKY of the University of Windsor, Ontario, has been widely published in magazines and is represented by three books of verse and two anthologies.

NORMA FARBER has published four books of poetry and six books for children. She has also translated the poems of Pedro Salinas.

PATRICK WORTH GRAY teaches poetry in the University of Nebraska at Omaha's Writer's Workshop and is poet-in-the-schools in Omaha and surrounding towns.

PHYLLIS JANOWITZ, a previous contributor to THE REVIEW, is now at Washington College in Chesterton, Maryland.

GORDEN LINK has been since 1971 Writer in Residence at Shenandoah College and Conservatory of Music and is head of a project to set up a Center for Advanced Studies at Riverton, Va. He is Director, Dellbrook-Shenandoah College Writers' Conference, and widely published.

PETER PAYACK, a Cambridge poet, is editor of Phone-A-Poem (tel: 492 1144) and has had poems in the *Paris Review*, the *Village Voice* and *Some*.

RICHARD SNYDER is co-founder and co-editor of the Asland Poetry Press and teaches writing and literature at Asland College, Ohio. He has two volumes of poems, *A Keeping in Touch* and *Practicing Our Sighs*.

MICHAEL WOLFE has recently published a collection of his poems, *How Love Gets Around*. A traveller, he was last heard from in Bolinas, California.

GRAPHICS

JOAN BRAGEN runs a printmaking studio in Andover where she practices her art and teaches.

An eleventh grader at Phillips Academy, JENNIFER BROWN comes from Washington, D. C.

LAURA BROADDUS is currently a student at Kirkland College.

STUART FULLERTON lives in Weston, Massachusetts, and is an eleventh-grader at Phillips Academy.

CHARLOTTE HARTWELL is a senior at Phillips Academy from New York City.

When last heard from, ROBERT PRESTON was studying art in Chicago.

CLARISSE (BAY) ROBERTS is a student at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

EULAH SHEFFIELD is a senior at Phillips Academy from Middletown, Rhode Island.

PETER TYACK's thesis topic, on patterns of dolphin vocalization in the wild, won him a diploma from Harvard this spring.

The anonymous work on page 61 was made in the basic design course at Phillips Academy.

